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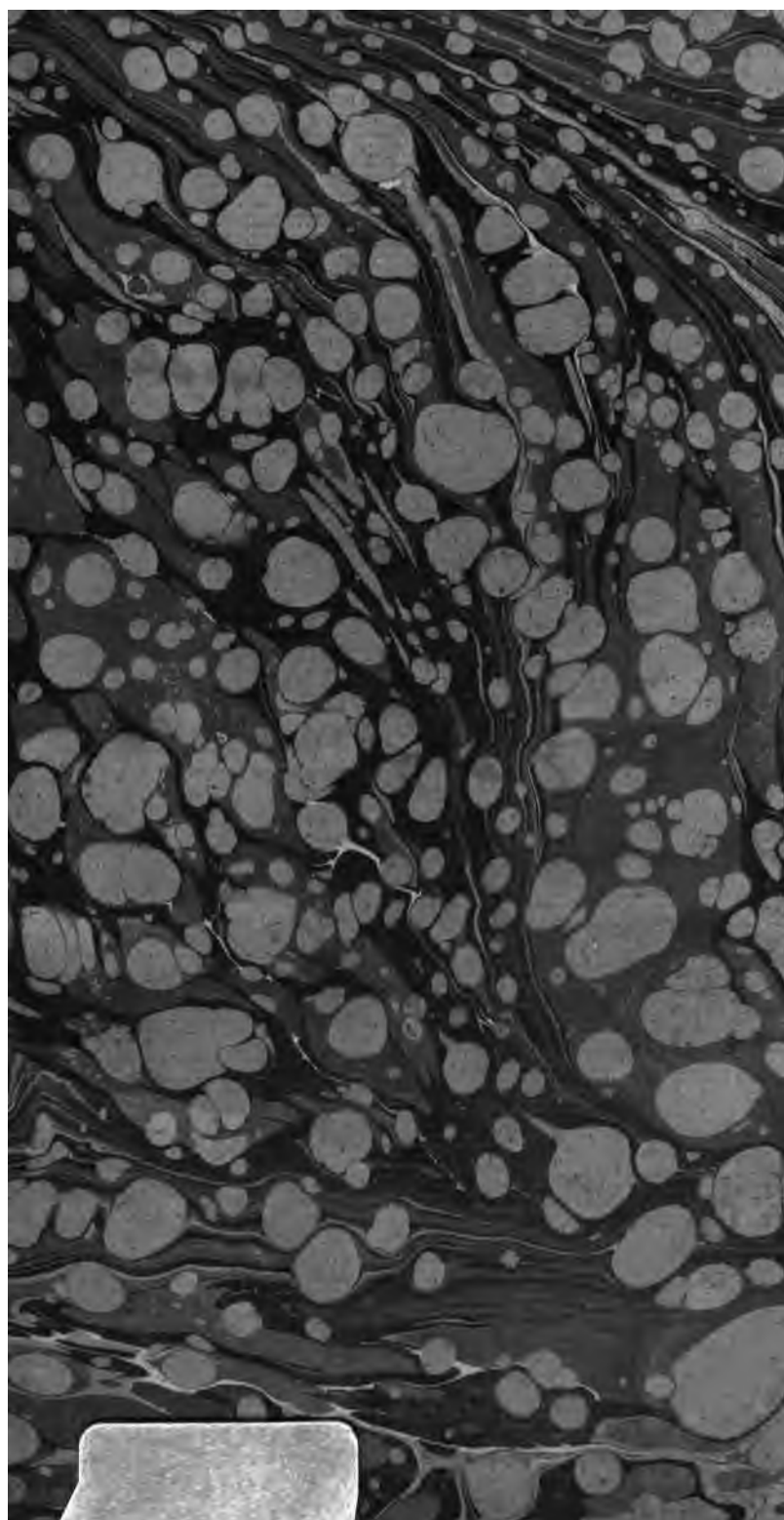
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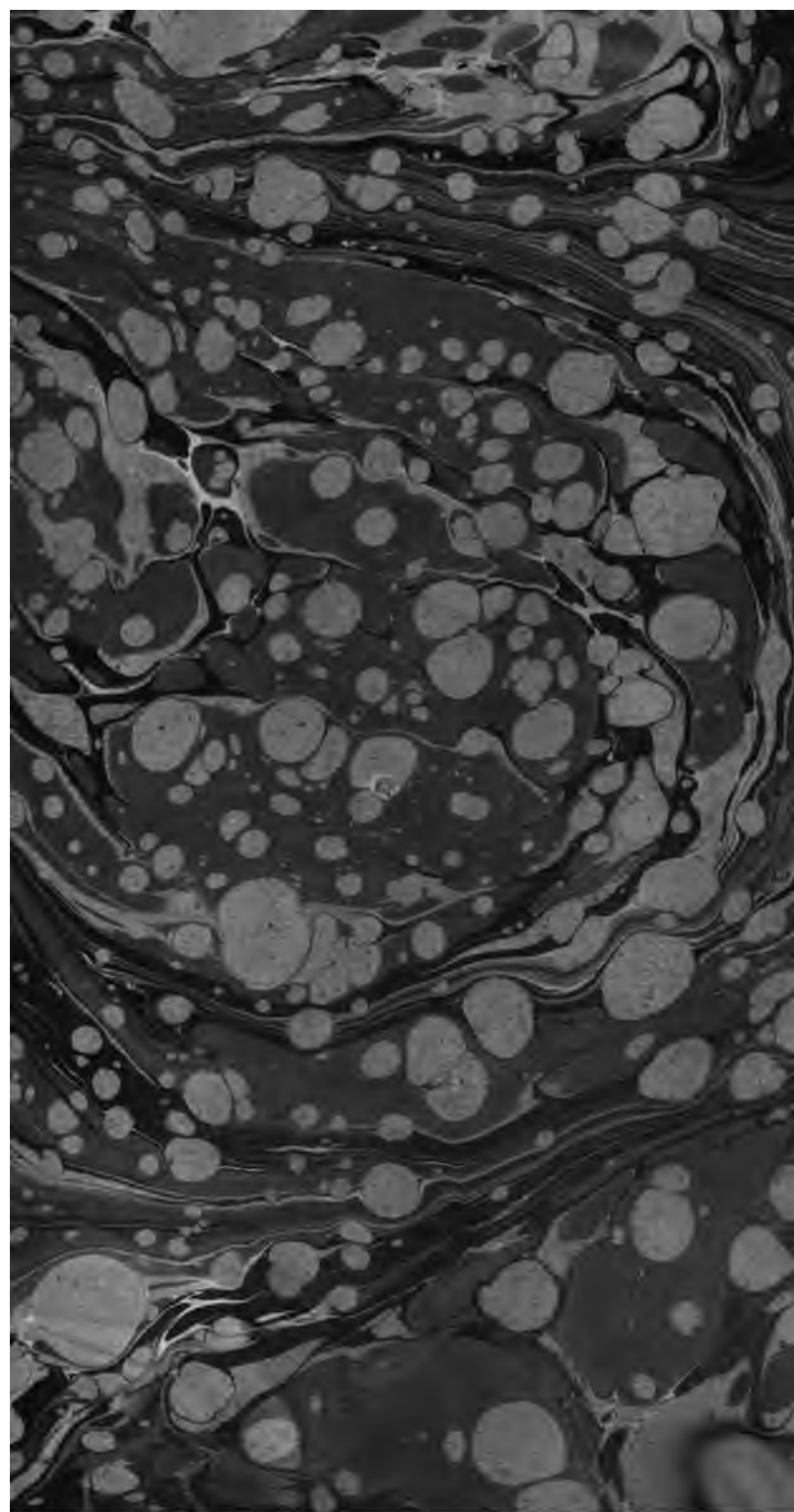
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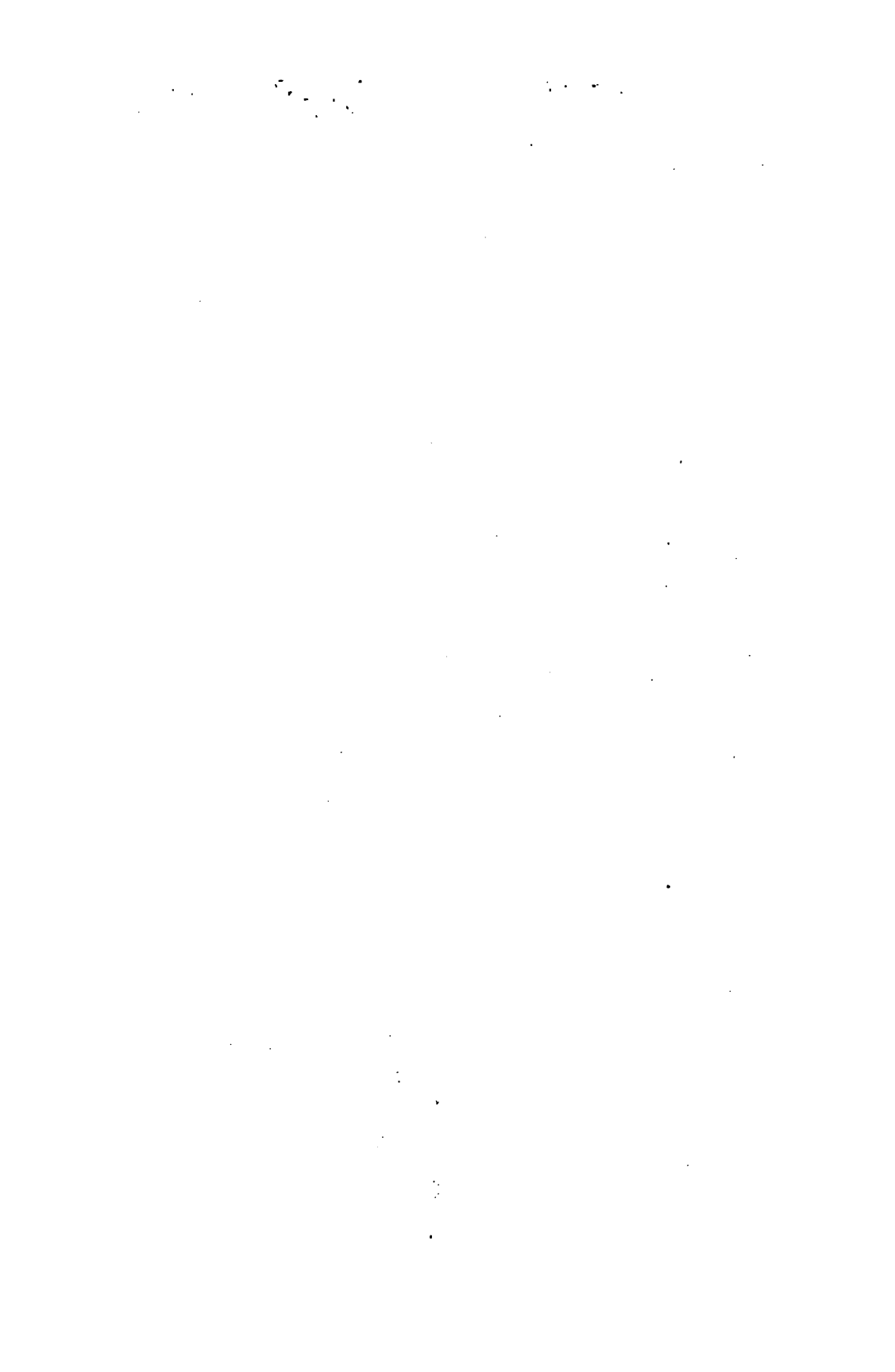
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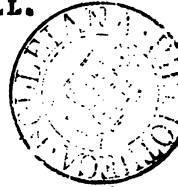
A D D I T I O N S
A N D
C O R R E C T I O N S
MADE IN THE
S E C O N D E D I T I O N
O F
M A R Y
Q U E E N O F S C O T S
V I N D I C A T E D.

B Y
J O H N W H I T A K E R, B. D.
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER;
A N D
R E C T O R O F R U A N - L A N Y H O R N E, C O R N W A L L.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, N° 32, FLEET-STREET;
AND W. CREECH, EDINBURGH.

M.DCC.LXXXIX.



226. i. 96.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T

T O T H E

S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

WHEN I had conducted the present Vindication laboriously through the press; every sheet of the whole having been transmitted to me in Cornwall, and corrected by me here; I did not indulge myself with repose, after all my labours. I knew the host of adversaries, that the cause of this unfortunate Queen had still to encounter. I knew that Dr. Robertson, the respectable and veteran leader of them, was still alive, in the full bloom of reputation for his other compositions, and with his old animation of zeal for the defamers of Mary. Lord Hailes, I also knew, was equally alive; and equally ready, I supposed, to produce his arguments, and to throw out his sarcasms, in assailing the character of

a 2

Mary,



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M.DCC.LXXXIX.



226. i. 96.

Mary, under pretence of defending it. And there were numbers, I equally knew, both in England and in Scotland, but especially in the latter; who had been bred up in the bosom of political and religious prejudice against Mary, had been taught to abhor her with a wild credulity of spirit, and would not easily bear to see her placed, by mine or by any hand, triumphant on the throne of honour. Some of these, but especially Lord Hailes and Dr. Robertson, I expected to come forward in opposition to my work. I therefore prepared to receive them vigourously. I went over a part of my old ground again. I even extended my range of investigation. I thus formed a number of remarks, some corrective of the old in subordinate circumstances, some confirmatory of them in important points, many entirely new in themselves, and all uniting to serve the interests of Mary and of truth usefully. And thus to prepare for opposition in the very moments of publication, I now see, was the likeliest way to ensure success under it.

Dr. Robertson had particularly shown me by his very recent conduct, that he still adhered to almost all his numerous errors in his

History of Mary. About five weeks before I published, just as the whole work was printed, and in May 1787; he sent out a new edition of his History, with some additions to it, that were principally calculated to obviate a *few* of the arguments, which had pressed hard upon the Doctor and his cause. Having preserved a strange silence for *seven and twenty* years, to the objections which Mr. Tytler had begun, and Dr. Stuart had pursued, against his History; he spoke out at last, to notice *three* of them. But he noticed not even these, till the more formidable of his two antagonists, his rival historian, and his formal challenger, had nine months before sunk in early life into the grave. Then it was, that the Doctor had confidence enough in his courage, to step out upon the stage, and to produce his counter-reasons. He accordingly replied to the strong argument, derived from the perpetual suppression of Melvill's letter by the rebels; and to the stronger, from their suppression of the famous eight letters, and from their plain declarations indeed that they had them not, for nearly *six* months after they posteriously pretended to have had them. And he replied also to the still stronger argument, from the

violent contradiction of the two records, the Act of Council and the Act of Parliament, in their respective descriptions of the letters. All this naturally claimed my attention first. I examined it all. Those two replies I had already precluded, I found, by the correspondent parts of my work; and I had only to subjoin a note to each, in order to show that I had. But this last, as being entirely new, required a distinct and formal consideration. I therefore gave it one. And I have inserted in Nos. I. and II. of the Appendix, what I think a compleat refutation of it.

Having done this, I was induced to examine a multiplicity of points more in my own work. In vol. iii. p. 38, I had asserted the copy of the treaty with the Scotch rebels in 1560, to be all a forgery. This was a bold push at the grand charter of political presbyterianism in Scotland. The boldness induced me to look over the whole, with a more comprehensive attention than I had paid it before. And the result was a large dissertation, which now forms No. XIV. of the Appendix, and brings in new evidences of the forgery additional to the old. I was then led to consider, what appeared to me as some other forgeries,

in

in the rebels of the same period; and the proofs of the point are thrown together in another dissertation, No. XV. of the Appendix. *That* confirmation of the old charge, and *this* accession of a new one, unite to corroborate all the charges before; and to show the wide and extended circle of forgery, in which the wretched fabricators of all moved.

In the midst of these enquiries, Lord Hailes favoured me with a letter; communicating some new observations of his on the sonnets, all as unfriendly to Mary in their tendency, as his former were. This obliged me to consider and answer them, just as the reader will see in a long note, now placed at the end of the sonnets. A gentleman of my own acquaintance, also; one, like Lord Hailes, professing a friendliness to Mary, and yet, like him, ready to receive some of the wildest falsehoods against her; transmitted to me his remarks on my incidental and detached account of the divorces, in vol. iii. p. 313. He thus induced me to reconsider the account with a stricter attention, to mould it into a more regular and consistent form, to enlarge it into the size in which it now appears, and to set the point at last, I hope, in the full light of historical truth.

But, what is much more important than either of these, I have annexed a whole chapter to the second volume, in order to present a genuine letter of Mary's after the eight forgeries; from it, and from other authorities, to retort the charge of impurity upon Elizabeth, which she so unjustly laid upon Mary's head; and to hold up to view *all the private part* of Elizabeth's character. Meeting by accident likewise with Davison's very ample apology, for his share with Elizabeth in the murder of Mary; and seeing the murderous spirit of Elizabeth clearly delineated by it, in all its immediate advances towards that deed of horror; I have drawn up from it and from other papers, such a history of the more immediate and the more distant advances, such a narrative of a murderer's mind, stepping by slow paces towards the murder, as the world has never seen displayed yet. This I have inserted, as sect. 6 of chap. 3, in vol. i. I have also placed the apology itself, one of the most extraordinary and interesting monuments in all the reign of Elizabeth, and yet little known in its particular contents; with some necessary notes to it; in No. XVI. of the Appendix. To these I have added a large variety of lesser notices,

THE SECOND EDITION. ix

notices, which are to take their place in different parts of the Vindication, and combine to illustrate, to enlarge, and to secure the whole. And I have subjoined to all, that convenient appendage to every work of size, an Index.

In these additional parts, as well as in the original, I have used a quickness of language at times, by which my more *gentle* reader may be hurt in his feelings. But let the gentlest of my readers reflect, that such a manner is unavoidable, from the nature and circumstances of the controversy. All controversy is in the literary world, what all war is in the political, an evil necessarily incident to the wretchedness of our present state. In war such acts are lawful, as would be criminal out of it. Blows and wounds *then* become licensed outrages. Just so it is in controversy. A tartness of remark, a harshness of reprehension, and a provoking pointedness of triumph, are all as lawful as blows and wounds in war. War cannot subsist without these. Controversy cannot, without those. And to fight fairly without wounding, or to controvert fairly without hurting, are equally impossible. But the present controversy concerning Mary, has always
carried

X A D V E R T I S E M E N T T O

carried the aggravated unkindness of a civil war with it. Indeed it cannot well be conducted without this. The enormity of the charges brought against Mary, the savageness of her first persecutors, and the effrontery of her first traducers, must naturally kindle such a spirit in her friends and in her enemies; as cannot easily, and perhaps never will entirely, be extinguished. It should be, if it can. Civil wars should be carried on, if they can be, with the moderation of national wars. But they never are, they never can be. The mind takes too strong an interest in the cause, to be kept down in the requisite state of serenity. The passions become engaged in the quarrel. And the antagonists on both sides deal about their blows, with a double portion of vigour.

Let me add also one observation more upon this subject, as a professed advocate for Mary. The publick was originally deluded into a bad opinion of this Queen, by a sophistry of argumentation and a hardness of assertion, that have no equal (I believe) in all the history of man. This hardness and this sophistry have been continued, under a gradually softened character, from the original calumniators

lumniators down to the modern defamers of her. How then is all this to be counteracted, in its long and hereditary influence upon the publick? Not by mild modes of acting, surely. Mildness will never answer the purpose. Something more powerful must be applied. And a nation, long bent to earth under the load of received falsehood, can never be effectually instigated to throw off the load, to erect its head towards heaven, and to enjoy the sun of truth shining there: till it catches fire from the warmth of some spirited writer; till it is brought by it to sneer at the elusiveness of reasoning, with which it has been hitherto cheated, and to spurn at the audacity of affirmation, with which it has been imposed upon before.

In this manner, have these new notices been drawn up; a set of auxiliary forces, as it were, ready to be brought into the field, whenever I should be called to an encounter. Yet of such an event, I now find, there is no immediate probability. I should indeed have thought myself honourably matched, by an opposition from Dr. Robertson or Lord Hailes. But his Lordship has explicitly declined the contest, in his letter to myself. The Doctor
also,

also, I hear, is so little disposed to *refute* the Vindication, that he has declared his resolution not to *read* it. He is thus practising the arts of generalship, which many a veteran has been obliged to practise before him. WAR-BURTON particularly, when he found himself attacked by LOWTH, similarly refused to read what he feared he could not answer; and, with a child's simplicity of cunning, imagined he should escape the lightning of his adversary's wit, by shutting his eyes to the fight, and evade the thunder of his adversary's argument, by stopping his ears to the sound. Hopeless of either of these, therefore, I had resolved to give my new remarks to the public at once, in the form of a supplement to my work; when, to my surprise, I found it requisite to publish a new edition of it. I accordingly publish one, with all my corrections and additions incorporated regularly into the work; and also print them separately, for the purchasers of the first edition. I am yet ready, however, to stand forward in assertion of the cause, which I have espoused; whenever I am called upon by any writer of consequence. Such a one will not dwell upon petty points. He will either fix his footing upon the great
topicks

topicks of debate, or he will be wise enough to be silent. And for these, so long as I am convinced that Mary has had the foulest treatment, which ever poor princess had; and was concerned in her life with a set of wretches, such perhaps as the world never saw before, and such as, I trust, it will never see again; so long shall I be ready, to lay out my time, my faculties, and my spirits, in vindication of her.

R. L. PARSONAGE,
May 26th, 1788.



A D D I T I O N S

A N D

C O R R E C T I O N S

I N

V O L U M E F I R S T.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

I N

VOLUME FIRST.

Page 16, Line 17—18, thus.

"SPYRYTE, might escape soone" out of the
" windows of her English prison *. And
one of Cecil's and Elizabeth's flatterers says thus,
in a letter to Cecil, February the 26th, 1569,
after he had seen Mary at Tutbury: "If I
"(which in the sight of God beare the Quene's
"Majestie a naturall love, besyde my bounden
"dutie) might give advise, there shulde VERAY
"FEW subjects in this land, HAVE ACSESSE TO
"OR CONFERENS WITH this lady; for besyde that
"she is a goodly personadge (and yet in trouthe
"not comparable to our Souverain), she hathe
"withall AN ALLURING GRACE, a pretty Scottish

* Goodall, ii. 71 and 72.

B

"speche,

“speche, and A SERCHING WIT CLOWDED
“WITH MYLDNES *.” Accordingly, &c.

P. 17, L. 13, *thus*.

“*Evin in hir frends †.*” Francis Thynne also, a continuer and interpolator of Hollingshed’s Chronicle, who wrote under the very eye of Elizabeth, and in the very moments of her meditated murder against Mary, says of the latter: that “beneficiall nature (or rather, good God) had “indued her with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, AN EXCELLENT WIT, A MILD “NATURE, and GOOD BEHAVIOUR; which she “had artificialle furthered, by courtlie education and affable demeanour; whereby, AT THE “FIRST SIGHT, she WAN UNTO HER THE “HEARTS OF MOST PEOPLE †.” And her, &c.

* Haynes, 511.

† Anderson, iv. part i. 71. Knox himself furnishes us with a striking instance, of her “readiness to expone himself to all “perylls in hope of victory.” Just after her marriage to Darnly, and during the rebellion of Murray in consequence of it, she and the army, he says, “early in the morning, “long befor the sun was risen, begun to march: bot there “arose such a vehement tempest of wind and raine from the “west, as the like had not bene sein befor in a long tyme; “so that a litill brook turned incontinent into a grit river; “and the raging storm being in thair face, with grit difficulty “went they forward: and *albeit the most part waxed weary,* “*yit the Quene’s courage encreasht manlike so much, that she was “evir with the foremost.* There was diverse persons drowned “that day in the water of Carren” (Knox, 382, edit. Edinburgh, 1732).

‡ Hollingshed, ii. 377, edit. 1586.

P. 18, L. 5, *this note to blood.*

An Italian writer has accordingly characterized her thus: “Alla bellezza erano accompagnate
 “*gratia stupenda, tratti e maniere impareggiabili,*
 “*bontà esquisita, intelligenza e discorso sopra ogni*
 “*altra donna, possedendo perfettamente 6 lingue,*
 “*costanza imperturbabile, fede e religione incor-*
 “*rotta*” (Compendi Historici del Conte Alfonso
 Loschi Vicentino, p. 218. In Venetia, 1652).
 Some allowance must probably be made for this,
 as the panegyrick of a papist upon a papist. Per-
 haps a counter-allowance must equally be made,
 for the suspicious prejudices of a protestant against
 both. And yet, even without such a counter-
 allowance, this single passage gives us a more full
 and compleat idea of Mary, than any other
 which I know; though, from the seeming par-
 tiality of it, I have thrown it merely into a note.

P. 19, L. 20, for *sarcastm* read *sarcasticalness.*

P. 25, L. 20, *this note to inclined.*

Accordingly we find even Knox himself, speak-
 ing of her in this manner. “The armes of Eng-
 “land,” he says, “wer befor usurped by our
 “soverane, and by her husband Francis; and
 “Elizabeth, quene of England, was of the Gui-
 “fianes reputed littill better than a bastard.—
 “The effect quhareof will soner apeir, then the
 “godly of England wald desyre. And yet is
 “sche that now rigneth over *thame*, *nether gude*
 “*protestant nor yet resolute papist*, let the world
 “juge quhilk is the *thrid*,” meaning an UNBE-

LIEVER. "Quene Elizabeth, we say," &c. (p. 277).

P. 27, L. 23, *this note to France.*

This petty offence, of which so much use was made, was nearly equalled *at the very time*, by Elizabeth's bearing the arms and appellation of Queen of France. See Forbes, i. 139, 259, and 339. Only, Mary took them on the accession of Elizabeth, and actually dated her reign over England and Ireland from that period. See Forbes, i. 404, and ii. 185.

P. 29, L. 22, for *illegitimate* read *legitimate*.

P. 31, L. 24—25, *thus.*

in beauty, and in drefs, &c.

P. 32, *the note is omitted, because the subject of it is now dwelt upon largely hereafter, in ii. 6.*

P. 33, L. 10, *this note to Mary.*

"Two things," says Mary to Elizabeth in 1582, when she thought her malady a mortal one, "I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to going out of this world, I may have with me, for my consolation, some honourable churchman; to remind me daily of the course which I have to finish, and teach me how to compleat it according to my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and to die. This is a last duty, which cannot be denied to the most mean and miserable person that lives.—And that I in this extremity should be deprived of such freedom, you cannot with justice require. What advantage will redound to you, when you shall deny it to me?

"I hope

“ I hope that God will excuse me, if, oppressed
 “ by you in this manner, I do not render to him
 “ any duty, but what I shall be permitted to do in
 “ my heart” (Appendix, No. xvii).

Just before her death also in 1586-7, “ ear-
 “ nestly she besought, that she might have a ca-
 “ tholick priest allowed her, to direct her con-
 “ science, and administer the sacraments unto her.”
 Even this was refused her. They recommended
two protestants to her. “ A bishop and a dean—
 “ they commended her for this purpose.” And,
 only the very day before her death, “ she prayed,
 “ —that she might have conference with her—
 “ confessor—; it was flatly denied, that he
 “ should come at her” (Camden, Transf. 368 and
 382, Orig. i. 439 and 445). See also Robert-
 son, ii. 477. Pure and genuine cruelty, I be-
 lieve, was never carried to a higher pitch than
 this.

. Siculi non invenère tyranni
 Tormentum majus.

P. 34, to note is thus added.*

I accordingly subjoin the best account that we
 have, and one little known, of the dying moments
 of Elizabeth. “ When I came to court,” says
 Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, in his Memoirs
 of his own Life, “ I found the Queene ill-dis-
 “ posed, and shee kept her inner lodging; yet
 “ shee, hearing of my arrivall, sent for mee. I
 “ found her in one of her withdrawing chambers,
 “ *sitting low upon her cushions.* Shee called mee
 “ to her, I kist her hand, and told her it was my

“cheifest happineffe to see her in safety and in
 “health, which I wished might long continue.
 “Shee took mee by the hand, and *wrung it hard*,
 “and said, “No, Robin, I am not well;” and
 “then discoursed with mee of her indisposition,
 “and that *her heart had been sad and heavy for ten*
 “*or twelve dayes*; and in her discourse *she fetched*
 “*not so few as forty or fifty great sighes*. I was
 “grieved at the first to see her in this plight;
 “for, IN ALL MY LIFE-TIME BEFORE, I NEVER
 “KNEW HER FETCH A SIGH, BUT WHEN THE
 “QUEENE OF SCOTTES WAS BEHEADED. THEN,
 “upon my knowledge, she shed *many teares* and
 “*sighes*—. I used the best words I could, to
 “persuade her from this melancholy humour;
 “but I found by her, *it was too deep-rooted in*
 “*her heart*, and hardly to be removed. This
 “was upon a Saturday night.” From the next day
 “forwards, she grew worfe and worfe. She *re-*
 “*mained upon her cushions, four dayes and nights at*
 “*the least*. All about her *could not persuade her*,
 “*either to take any sustenance, or go to bed*.—
 “The Queene grew worfe and worfe, *because she*
 “*would be so*, none about her being able to per-
 “swade her *to go to bed*. My Lord Admirall
 “was sent for—; what *by faire meanes*, what *by*
 “*force*, he gatt her to bed. There was no hope
 “of her recovery, *because she refused all remedies*.
 “On Wednesday the twenty-third of March, she
 “grew speechless,” And that night she died
 (P. 136—140).

P. 37, *Note, L. 1, thus.*

Goodall, i. 403—404, for some state-papers of the time, and Robertson, ii. 455, 456, and 457, for Lord Harris's letter. But, &c.

P. 39, *L. last but one, thus.*

villains that detained her in prison, were resolving to execute the menaces which they had been for some time throwing out; and were meditating, &c.

———— *Note * L. last, thus.*

Elizabeth. And see Appendix, No. xvii. for the menaces.

P. 41, *L. 2, this note to others.*

This amiable weakness in Mary, though the marking element in her composition, was first noticed by Mr. Tytler, in 285—286, edit. 3d; and he ought to have the honour of the discovery. But let me add to his and my remark, that this weakness was the glorious cause, so linked are our weaknesses and our glories together, of an awfully pleasing emanation of amiableness. When she heard of the sudden death of Murray; of his being, by one vindictive stroke of murder,

Cut off ev'n in the blossoms of his sins,

.....

No reckoning made, but sent to his account

With all his imperfections on his head,

And indeed

With all his crimes broad blown, as flush as May;

the Queen *lamented* over his hasty summons into eternity, and *wept* over the fall of her savage and

unnatural persecutor (Camden, Orig. i. 172, Transf. 140; and Jebb, ii. 75).

P. 41, *Note*, L. 1. for *vol. 2d* read *vol. 3d*.

P. 46, *Note* * L. 1; *thus*.

* Anderfon, i. 109—110. So Lord Herris says in a letter of Sept. the 3d, 1568, concerning Elizabeth and Mary: "Sen that time" of Mary's coming into England, "the Queen's Majesty" of England "has commanded me *diverse times* to "declare, *ſhe would accept her cauſe*, and do for "her, and to put her in peaceable poſſeſſion of this "realme" (Robertſon, ii. 455). See alſo 457. In conſequence, &c.

P. 57, *Note*, L. 14.

To *Melwill*, 93, is added, *edit. 1ſt*.

P. 59, L. 2 and 3, *thus*.

meaning ſome extracts and accounts of Murray's letters, ſent by them to Elizabeth;

P. 63, *Note*, L. 4—5, *thus*.

"proclivis." Mary alſo told Biſhop Leſley, as Leſley ſays, that "ſhe truſted I wold find the "juges favorable, principalie the Duke of Norfolke, who was firſt in commiſſion; and douted "not bot Therle Suffex wold be rewled by him, "as his tender freind; and Sir Rauph Sadler "wold not ganestand thair advyſes" (Murdin, 52). See alſo Goodall, ii. 171 and 179; Robertſon, ii. 345, and Haynes, 272, for Sir Ralph.

P. 71, *Note* † L. 1.

After Ibid. 201, all the reſt of the note is omitted, as enlarged upon hereafter, in the new ſect. 6, of chap. 3, vol. 1.

P. 93,

P. 93, Note, L. 2, thus.

“dois all thair drauchtis.” And Lord Hunfdon, in a letter of Dec. the 20th, fays to Cecil concerning this fecond conference; “the burden wherof, “I know, *depends chefly apon youe*” (Haynes, 496).

P. 95, L. 15, thus.

of itfelf. But Lethington had done more. He had induced the Duke “to think,” as the Duke himfelf affures us, “that the Quene was not “gilty of the crimes objected (*a*).” From all the Duke had, &c.

P. 102, L. 10, this note to happened.

Juft in the fame manner; and exactly in the fame fpirit, it is as much fuppreffed by Buchanan in Hift. xix. 373, as it is denied by Elizabeth here; that the letters, &c. were ever fown at York.

*P. 123, Note * thus.*

* Goodall, ii. 282. They accordingly appear in Haynes, 496.

*P. 130, Note * L. 9, thus.*

Anderson had knaviſhly fuppreffed, as Cecil had with equal knavery fuppreffed it before (Murdin, 766); this, &c.

— *Note † L. 2, thus.*

See ii. 333. He left London, fays Cecil, on

(*a*) This is a full refutation of that frivolous argument, which is urged by Dr. Robertson in Diff. 22, and re-urged in ii. 343—344, edit. xi; of Norfolk’s believing the letters to be genuine. He believed them to be fo, *till* Lethington, who was privy to the whole villainy, “moved” him to confider them as all a forgery; and alfo “moved” him “to lyke of a “marriadg, with the—Quene” accuſed by them (Murdin, 164).

January

January the 18th (Murdin, 766). But this is erroneous. He signed a celebrated paper the very day afterwards, January the 19th; as both Cecil and Murray testify themselves (Goodall, ii. 322). And he, &c.

P. 158, *this comes in as Sect. VI.*

The murder of Mary by Elizabeth, is too well known to the publick in all its *accompanying* circumstances. But there is a chain of circumstances *preparatory* to it, which is little known. These either led to the murder distantly, or preceded it immediately. And as I am now drawing near to a close, in my history of Elizabeth's conduct to Mary; I mean to lay them before my reader here, in order to point the enormity of her conduct, with a greater force to his feeling.

For that purpose, let us first observe those distant gradations of guilt, by which she began to ascend towards the murder. The first step in the ascent, was made at the opening of this conference. Then she promised Murray, as I have shown before, *if* Mary should be found guilty; that she should *either* be kept in an English prison for life, *or* be delivered up into the hands of Murray himself; and that, if she was delivered up, Murray should give "sufficient sureties and assurances, for *the safety of her life*, and good *usage of her* *." But, in a few months afterwards, her language became more sanguinary and savage. In the spring of 1570 those rebel chiefs, who took upon themselves the sovereignty of

* Chap. ii. sect. 4.

Scotland, on the assassination of Murray, sent the abbot of Dumferling to London; in order to get Mary out of Elizabeth's hands, and into their own. He came, waited on Elizabeth, and requested the delivery of Mary. "Whereto," says Melvill in a very curious passage, "the Queen of England made answer: If they would find *her sufficient pledges for the security of the Queen's life*, she would deliver her to be kept by them." Mary had now been, as I have just shown, *not* found guilty; and had even been *acquitted* of all guilt, by the voice of Elizabeth herself, speaking in her prime-minister. Yet Elizabeth still persisted in her plan of delivering her up. This plan was conditional before, and on the supposition of her guilt; but is absolute now, and even after the acknowledgment of her innocence. Nor is it *now* suspended upon the alternative, of *either* delivering her up, *or* keeping her in an English prison. No! It is peremptory for delivering her up. Nor does it *now* include any stipulations for the "good usage of her." It confines itself wholly to her *life*. And the only similarity between the present and the former plan, is this; that Elizabeth still requires "sufficient sureties" and assurances, for the safety of her *life*." So much more brutal was the present plan, than the former! So hastily was Elizabeth mounting up in malignity, against the innocent Mary! But she appears to be even *more* so, at this very moment. "The abbot alledged," says Melvill, about putting in pledges for the security of Mary's life; "*that* would be hard to do, for what in case the
" Queen

"Queen *dye* in the mean time?" To this let my reader particularly observe Elizabeth's answer. "She answered," adds Melvill: "MY LORD, I BELIEVED YOU HAD BEEN A WISE MAN; YOU WOULD PRESS ME TO SPEAK, WHAT IS NOWAYS NECESSARY; YOU MAY KNOW, THAT I CANNOT BUT FOR MY HONOUR REQUIRE PLEDGES FOR THAT END; I THINK YOU MAY JUDGE ALSO OF YOURSELF, WHAT MIGHT BE BEST FOR ME*." This horrible address, which is very similar to some addresses that Shakespeare has given us, in the artful obscurity of suggestion, and in the intimated meaning of murder; must place Elizabeth for ever conspicuous, in the rank of human murderers. Yet, in a short time, she pushed beyond this line of malignity, and fixed herself in the fore-front of this infernal host.

She who had *at first* promised, if Mary should be found guilty, to keep her confined in England, or, on receipt of hostages for her life and good usage, to deliver her up to her rebels of Scotland; and who had *afterwards* agreed to deliver her up, when confessed to be innocent, on receiving hostages for security of her life only, and yet in full expectation and hope, that her life would still be taken away: even she, in seventeen or eighteen months after the second agreement, *came forward herself* to the rebels, *invited* them to ask for Mary, and *offered* to give her up; *not* on receipt of hostages for the safety of her life, and with the secret

* Melvill, 106—107.

expectation

expectation and hope of having it taken away; but with *the express stipulation* made by *her*, and with *the express requisition* of hostages from *them*, that her life *should* be taken away by them. This appears from a murderous letter of instructions to an embassadour, drawn up in *Cecil's own hand*, and dated September the 10th, 1572; which was published about thirty years ago, from Cecil's own papers, and which nothing short of the grand day of doom should ever have brought into light, either against Cecil or against his Queen. "It seemeth better," says the letter, "that she [Mary] be sent into Scotland, to be delivered to the Regent [the Earl of Mar] and his party; so as it may be by some good meanes wrought, that *they themselves* wold secretly require it; and that *good assurance may be gyven*, that as they have heretofore many tymes, specially in the tyme of the Quene's former Regents, offered, so they wold *without fayle proceed with hir by wey of justice*, so as nether *that* realme nor *this* should be endangered by hir hereafter." "They might have hir," it adds, "so as there might be *good suerty gyven*, that she should receave that she hath deserved ther, by ordre of justice; wherby *no furder perill should ensue*—. For, *otherwise*, yow may well saye that the counsell of England *will never assent*, to deliver hir out of the realme; and *for assurance* none can suffice, but *hostages of good vallew*, that is, *some children and nere kynsfolk of the Regent and the Erle Morton* *." This is certainly one of the

* Murdin, 224—225.

most extraordinary dispatches, that the villainy of man, and the instigation of the devil, ever united to produce. It will be exhibited, I *fear*, as a *damning* proof of iniquity against the Queen and her minister, in the general moments of determination for eternity. And it dreadfully concurs with the two papers preceding, to mark distinctly the degrees upon the scale of iniquity, along which Elizabeth proceeded, to the last enormity of her conduct towards the person of Mary; from her intimation to Murray, from her insinuation to the abbot, and from her offer to the Earl of Mar, to the murder of Mary by her own subjects, by her own servants, and by her own commands*.

Let us now proceed, therefore, to mark the workings of her mind minutely, in the very moments of murder. These present to us a picture, still more striking in its disposition and colouring. And it is additionally necessary to be dwelt upon, in order to show Elizabeth still farther to the world, in all the savage movements of her murderous spirit.

Having "many hundred times" declared her resolution "to pursue Mary's death," she ordered the warrant to be made out, for the execution of her. She kept it in Secretary Davison's hands, no less than five or six weeks afterward. Yet her sanguinary spirit relented not, in all this interval of time. In the course of it, indeed, she found Davison never *offered to present* her the warrant, for

* This paper, one of the most memorable in all Murdin's collection, was first pointed out to the publick notice by Mr. Tytler, in p. 348—352, edit. 3d.

her

her subscription to it. She was obliged to give him an order for bringing it. Yet he still neglected to produce it. On the morning of WEDNESDAY therefore, the first of February 1586-7, her spirit, which had been kindling and burning all the time, at last flamed out. She expressed herself with sharpness against him, to the Lord Admiral Howard. She sent him a peremptory command by this nobleman, to bring the warrant immediately to her. She was now determined to sign it immediately. The lord admiral carried the command, and the secretary attended her with the warrant. But, though he was come on such a solemn business, though she knew he was, and though she had sent for him expressly and peremptorily upon it; she could begin with indifferent points of conversation, and could instantly enter into talk with him about the weather, about his health, and about his riding-exercise. On his coming in, as he tells us himself in vindication of his own conduct, she asked him, whether he had been abroad that fair morning. She advised him to go abroad more frequently than he did; and reprehended him for going so seldom. And she then inquired of him what papers he had in his hands. So coolly could she proceed in those moments of solemnity, in which the soul of any other woman, surely, must have been agonizing alternately with tenderness and with terror!

On the secretary's saying that he had some warrants and other papers, to be signed for her service; she calmly inquired, whether he had not received a message from her, and whether he had
not

not brought the warrant for the Queen of Scots. He answering yes, she calmly called for the warrant. She received it from him. She read it over, without one symptom of emotion. Without one symptom of emotion, she called for her pen and ink. Without one symptom of emotion, she signed it. She then laid it a little from her, and could be *more than calm* concerning it. She could be *savagely jocular* about it. She could ask the secretary, whether he "were not heartily sorry it " was done."

She then commanded him to carry it to the chancellor; for having the great seal affixed to it. She directed him to tell the chancellor, that it was to be used with all possible secrecy. And she could be savagely jocular about it, again. She could tell him to show it, as he went towards the chancellor's, to the other secretary, Walsingham, who was then sick; "because," as she said, "she " thought the grief thereof would kill him out- " right."

She addressed herself very composedly after all, to the official business before her. She called for the other warrants and papers. She received them successively. She successively signed them. And she "dispatched them all," says her very secretary himself, "with the best disposition and " willingness that might be."

Yet, in the intervals of this business, she could be dwelling upon the execution of Mary. She could be declaring her reasons, for having deferred the signature so long. She had deferred it for the sake of her honour, she said; that the world

world might see, she had not been hurried into it by violence or malice. But she had always been so well advised, she added, as to apprehend her own danger from Mary, and to see the necessity for her execution. She could afterwards divert at times, to other subjects. She could tell him in the midst of them, however, and tell him again after the conclusion of them; that she would have the execution performed with all possible secrecy. She even intimated her dislike, to have it performed in the open court or green of Fotheringay castle. She expressly declared, that it should be performed in the hall there. She could thus go in her mind, over one of the main circumstances of the bloody act. She could rest upon it. And she could determine with a sanguinary accuracy, whether the green or the hall should be the actual scene of the execution.

The secretary gathering up his papers, and being ready to retire; she began to open a new fund of murderoufness, that the baseness of her nature, or the degeneracy of her spirit, had lodged in the more secret cells of her soul. She began to complain of Mary's keepers, "Sir Amias Paulet and "others;" because they had not ASSASSINATED Mary for her. They "might have eased her," she cried, "of this burthen." Such a very murderous wretch was she! She even expressed her wishes, that he should talk to the other secretary; and that both should unite in a letter to Sir Amias, and to his colleague Sir Drue Drury, in order to sound their disposition for this execrable work of assassination. She wished the murder *so* to be

C

"done,

“done, as *the blame might be removed from herself.*” And she thus spoke with all the flagitious cunning of the “Devilish Macbeth” himself. Mary, she cried in *his* language, is mine enemy,

And in such bloody distance,
That every minute of her being thrusts
Against my near’st of life ; and though I could
With barefac’d power sweep her from my sight,
And bid my will avouch it, yet I mast not
..... [always thought
That I require a clearness]; but *wail her fall*
Whom I myself struck down : And thence it is,
That I to their assistance do make love,
Masking the business from the common eye.

This plan of murdering Mary by the hands of others, we have already seen pursued by her towards the Scotch, with great ardour before. But, when that finally failed, she turned her thoughts from a formal execution by Mary’s rebels in Scotland, to a private assassination of her by some of her English ruffians. She had made “sundry motions” of this kind *before*, to the secretary who informs us of all. But, as he utterly condemned them, he had always refused to have any concern with them. Yet she could renew the motion to him now. So perseveringly steady was she, in her purpose of assassinating Mary ! Her secretary however was now “content,” he told her, to take such a concern in the business, as, “for her satisfying, to let Sir Amias know what she expected at his hands.” Yet he was sure, he added, that it would be useless; as he knew

too well the character of Sir Amias and Sir Drue, their wisdom and their integrity, to suppose they would do an unlawful deed for any respect in the world. But she still persisted in her purpose, to have them sounded for the assassination. Nor did she suffer her secretary to depart, before he had promised to call upon the other secretary, to signify her pleasure to him, and to unite with him in a letter to the keepers. And then she dismissed him, with another caution given by her, and with another promise made by him; that the matter should be managed with all possible secrecy, because of her danger.

In the *afternoon* of *that very day*, the secretary called upon his brother-secretary about the letter, and settled with him the form of it. He then left him to draw it up, while he went on to the chancellor's. There he procured the great seal to be fixed to the warrant. He returned to the other secretary's office. And the letter was signed by both, and dispatched away to Sir Amias.

The *next morning*, which was THURSDAY, the secretary received a letter from his servant, whom he had left at court; signifying Elizabeth's pleasure to him, not to go to the chancellor before she had spoken to him again. Within an hour after the receipt of this, Mr. William Killigrew came to him, with a direct message of the same import from Elizabeth. This prohibition, and this earnestness about it, concur to carry a very favourable appearance for Elizabeth. Her heart is at last touched with some compunctions of pity. The obdurate barbarian in her, is at last brought

to some feeling of humanity. And she will not permit the bloody warrant, to be finally prepared for execution. But alas! we find ourselves dreadfully disappointed. The obdurate barbarian is *not* brought to any feeling of humanity. Her heart is *not* touched with any compunctions of pity. And she is only moving by another direction, to her execrable purpose of *assassination*.

The secretary sent word by Killigrew, that he should be at court as soon as he; and that he would then give her Majesty an account, of what he had done. He came. She asked him, whether he had been with the chancellor. He replied, he had. She demanded, what need there was of so much haste in him. He told her, that he had done no more than what she ordered, and that he himself thought it not a matter to be trifled with. But "methinks," she replied, "the best and safest way for me, is to have it *otherways* handled." She even "particularized a form." *This*, she said, she liked better. And she actually *named* some persons who were of that opinion, and whose judgment in such cases she commended. *Whom* she named, we can only conjecture; as Davison has thought it prudent to suppress their names. But this very suppression unites with the whole case, to point them evidently out for *some of her ministers*. They were some too, to whom she could unbosom herself with peculiar openness, and on whose judgment she could rely with peculiar confidence; some therefore, that were congenial to herself, in all the ferocious and savage qualities of the heart; Cecil, Walsingham, and Leicester.

cester*. She was thus bending eagerly to the assassination. She thought, upon re-considering what she had said the day before, that the keepers of Mary would *not* do the deed of murder for her. She therefore wanted to have it done by *others*. And yet her secretary answering, that in his opinion the best and safest way was by an execution, if she meant to have Mary put to death at all; she made no answer to him, but left him abruptly, and went to her dinner.

The very next day, FRIDAY, she called her secretary to her, in her privy chamber; and recounted to him a dream, which she had had the night before, and which had agitated her soul violently while it lasted. She dreamed, that the Queen of Scots was actually executed, by his sending the warrant away; that she herself was greatly troubled, at the thought; and that, if she had had a sword in her hand at the time, she could have stabbed him to the heart with it. She was thus the female barbarian, even in her dream of penitence. But this was enough to have beaten her off for ever, from *all* her resolutions of murder against Mary. Yet she, who could defy the terrors of eternity in her waking thoughts, was not to be disconcerted by the troubles of her sleeping hours. She could begin to speak to him upon the subject, “smiling.” And she could even recount the whole to him, “in a plea-

* See the sequel for Walsingham, vol. ii. ch. 6. sect. 3. for Walsingham and Leicester, and App. No. xvi. for Cecil and both.

“fant and smiling manner.” This should have served, however, to show the secretary beforehand, all that oppressive conduct, which she practised towards him afterwards. Yet he answered at first, with a reflected ray of her jocularity; that it was happy for him he was not near her, whilst this fit of resentment against him lasted. But then, more deeply considering her alarming account, he asked her in great earnestness, what all this meant; and whether, when she had proceeded thus far, she had no design to go on with the execution. And her answer was Yes, uttered with some vehemency, and confirmed with a solemn oath.

But she had still all her former hankerings after assassination. With a view to this, she had introduced the conversation at first. With the same view she now added, *again*, that “she thought it might receive a better form; because, faith she, this casteth the whole burthen upon myself:”

. *always thought*
That I require a clearness.

The secretary *again* urged, that the form prescribed by the warrant was the only form in law, in honour, and in justice. She *again* answered, that wiser men than himself were of a different opinion. She thus hinted *again*, at some of her ministers being for the assassination of Mary; and some too, who were superiour to Davison in her estimation. He “could not answer for other men,” he replied, “but this he was sure of,
“that

“ that he *never* heard any man give a sound reason,” for the honourableness or the safety of any other form to her Majesty. So much had the topick of assassinating Mary, been gravely and formally *debated* by Elizabeth’s ministers *in her presence*! So much were her ministers in general for the assassination of Mary, though they concurred with her in endeavours to throw the act upon Davison! And Elizabeth, without further reply or address, rose abruptly from her seat, and went into another room.

In the *afternoon* of *this* day, she renewed the murderous conversation with him. She was now driven off from the assassination of Mary by *others*. She was therefore willing to come back to the hope, of an assassination by Paulet and Drury. She asked him, whether he had heard from Paulet. He replied in the negative. But going into the city an hour or two afterwards, he found an answer from him.

He therefore informed her the next morning, the morning of SATURDAY, when he waited upon her for some other business; and when now the bloody warrant had been actually sent off the evening before, in consequence of the letter from Paulet, and by the whole privy council, Davison himself being one of the number; that he had received Paulet’s answer. She desired to read it herself. She took and read it. And she found, that the writer was grieved at the motion made to him; that he offered his life, and his property, to be disposed of by her Majesty; but absolutely refused to be concerned, in the assassination of

Mary. Drury did the same in a postscript to it. She broke out directly into terms of reproach, against Paulet. She complained of the *daintiness* of conscience, in him "and others." She wildly taxed him and them with *perjury*; because, in contradiction to their oath of association for-footh, they would not murder Mary themselves, but did throw the burden of the murder upon her. She then rose up abruptly from her seat, again. She took a turn or two across the room. And she retired again into another room.

This being a gallery, the secretary followed her into it. There she renewed her former strain of talking to him. She a second time blamed the *niceness* of those *precise* fellows, who would promise to do mighty things for her safety, but in reality would do nothing at all. She therefore concluded at last, to "have it done without them." She thus returned for the third time, to the plan of assassination by others. She now entered into *particulars* concerning it. And she even mentioned to him one *Wingfield* by name, as a man, that she was sure "would with some others undertake it." She thus appears to have formed and settled the whole plan of assassination, in concert with her other ministers. They had named to her the very person, who was proper to be the captain of the murderous gang. She remembered the name well. And her only aim, in concurrence with her other ministers, was this; to put Davison upon employing the captain and his gang, then to deny she had ever put him, and so to sacrifice him at once

to her own Moloch-like hypocrisy. But her secretary had courage enough to point out, how dishonourable in his opinion any such course of proceeding would be ; and how far off she would be from shunning the blame and disgrace by it, which she was so solicitous to avoid. He even entered into the case of Paulet and Drury, in order to vindicate them to her. It was a wonderful extremity of danger, he said, to which she would have exposed them both. If, from a tender anxiety for her safety, they had acted up to her inclinations ; she must have either allowed or disallowed of their deed. If she allowed of it, she took the matter upon herself directly, to the infinite dishonour of her name. If she disallowed of it, she overthrew those faithful gentlemen entirely, who, she knew, did with truth and fidelity love her ; and not only themselves, but all their fortunes and families too. Such a course, he thought therefore, was dangerous to herself, dangerous to them, and dishonourable to both. Yet he little suspected the accursed snare, that all the while was laid, not for them, but for himself. They would have pleaded the letter from the joint secretaries, in justification of the deed which they had done. Walsingham would have declared the authority upon which he wrote it, to be a message from the Queen by Davison. The Queen would have instantly denied, that she sent any such message by him. And Davison would have suffered that very ruin himself, of which he is here so generously apprehensive for them.

This

This introduced "some particular speech of
 " Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] and others, touch-
 " ing some matters past heretofore;" and con-
 cerning his and their suggestions to her, no doubt,
 to have Mary taken off privately, by the dagger
 or by the bowl *. But her Majesty finally liking
 Davison's discourse this time, as little as she had
 liked it twice before; she called to her attendants
 in an adjoining apartment. She asked, if it was
 not time for her to go to the *closet*; for a mur-
 derer in intention and an assassin in deliberation,
 to go to publick prayers in her closet! And she
 thus broke off the conversation abruptly, for the
third time.

At the secretary's next access to her Majesty,
 which was TUESDAY, he thinks, and *the very day*
before the actual execution of Mary under the war-
 rant; he brought her some other papers for her
 signature, and she entered into fresh discourse
 with him upon the subject. But she had now
 been forced off, however reluctantly, from her
 natural bias for an assassination. The secretary
could not induce her keepers to murder her.
 The secretary *would* not engage others to do the
 deed for her. None of those ministers too, who
 concurred with her in the project of assassination,
 would be concerned in the execution of it. Or,
 if they would, she did not *dare* to crush men in
 her intended hypocrisy afterwards, who had
 known so much of her flagitious counsels, and
 had acted so much in her iniquitous operations,

* See vol. ii. ch. 6, sect. 3, and Appendix, No. xvi.

as they had. And she therefore ran back, with all the violence of recoiling malignity, to the murder of Mary by her own authority. She now "entered of herself into some earnest discourse, of the danger she daily lived in; and how it *was more than time*, this matter was dispatched; "swearing a great oath, that *it was a shame for them all* it was not *already* done." She therefore spoke to him, "to have a letter written for *the dispatch thereof*; because, the longer it was deferred, the more her danger encreased." But her secretary, knowing all that had been done by the council, in sending away the warrant the Friday before, told her he saw no necessity for a letter, as the warrant itself was so large and ample. And her Majesty, when she heard this, made scarcely any other reply, than that she thought Paulet would look for a letter. So very anxious was she now, for the sure and certain murder of Mary under the sanction of her own writing!

All this presents us with such a history of a murderer's mind, for seven days together, and at the critical period of the murder too; as the world never saw before. The Queen's own left-handed policy, turned directly against herself; and occasioned this memorable delineation to be made, by the only man who could have made it. But it is wholly a delineation of horror. Not one ray of compassion sheds its light, over the eyes of this wretched woman. Not one flash of remorse throws its pleasingly frightful glare, across the face of this royal murderer. A fullness of malice

malice is sitting at the bottom of her eye-ball. A deep gloom of malignity is lowering on her brow. And her whole soul is so eagerly and violently bent upon the blood of Mary, that it determines to murder her immediately; that it only prefers *assassination*, as a more lurking act of murder, to more open murder by an *execution*; that it rests in execution at last, from mere necessity; that it still prefers assassination, by choice; and that it is only shifting and shuffling all the while, from one mode of murder to another *.

§ VII.

BUT to complete the parts of this enormous whole, for even these can receive an addition in order to their completeness; I must add, &c.

P. 161, L. 19—24, thus.

This also receives a light, reflected back from a letter immediately subsequent; and so appears to have been written, like that, in the month of November, and while there was only a *Latin* edition of Buchanan's book yet published.

But says Cecil in his *former* letter, &c.

P. 168, L. 2, for former read other,

P. 170, L. 8, thus.

“as yet came in her presence.” Mary likewise says in a letter long afterwards to Elizabeth herself, that the “treaty” with the Duke of Norfolk “was sanctioned with the advice and signa-

* See Appendix, No. xvi. for Davison's apology itself, and some notes to it.

"tures of THE FIRST MEN who were then of
 "your COUNCIL." So says also the Duke of
 Norfolk himself, "that her [Elizabeth's] coun-
 "SEL for the MOST part thought it [the marriage]
 "veary fit and expedient to be done; and that
 "the HOLE nobility ABROD lyked wele of it,
 "few excepted; for he had assayed all their
 "myndis*." Nor is this merely the language
 of Mary, and of Mary's friends.

P. 171, Note, L. 9—10, *thus*.

"I affeir yow one my lyff and honor," adds
 Lord Boyd on the last of the same month, "yat
 "the Quenis our Soveranis caus wes *nevir so*
 "*liklie*, fen the begynnyng of your troublis, *to*
 "*cum shortlie to ane guid succes*, to all our con-
 "fortis yat is hir Majestie's faythfull subjectis;
 "*as the samyne is at yis present*" (Haynes, 507).
 And see also Lesley's Negotiations, 50—52, 55,
 58, and 62, Anderfon, ii.

Norfolk seems to have been *actually married*
 to Mary. Her manly and judicious agent, Mor-
 gan, for whose person Elizabeth offered *ten thou-*
sand pounds (Murdin, 472), says thus to her con-
 cerning Norfolk's eldest son, then Earl of Arun-
 del, in 1586: "Perhaps there has passed be-
 "tween your Majesty and his father, *some other*
 "*occasions to terme the sayd Erle in another sort*;
 "which I must leave to your Majesty's wife con-
 "sideration" (Murdin 504—505). And in
 some letters of Mary's to Norfolk, which are
 still preserved, she subscribes herself "your own,

* Appendix, No. xxii. and Murdin, 44.

"faithful

“ faithful to death, Queen of Scots,” and, “ my Norfolk, your own Queen” (Hardwicke, i. 194, Miscellaneous Remarks on the Enquiry into the evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, 1784, p. 37. See ch. v. sect. 4. &c. hereafter, for the latter work).

P. 176, L. 22, [uncle] omitted.

P. 177, L. 1, thus.

“ NINE months.” He is here said expressly, to be “ umquhill” or deceased then *. He was hanged by the rebels, &c.

— *after the paragraph, thus.*

But we have some interesting intimations preparatory to the discovery, which made their appearance in October 1569, TEN months after the journal, TWELVE after the earliest account above, and more than FOUR AND TWENTY before the fullest. They are furnished by what is called, the second confession of Paris. And they were inserted in it, in order to show us how Mary’s letters to Bothwell, and not Bothwell’s to Mary, came to be lodged in a box of Mary’s. Yet, in a forgery, there will always be a choice of difficulties. On whichever side of the truth, the man of villainy diverts into falsehoods; some absurdity will adhere to him, will hang upon his steps, and embarrass his movements. This confession takes particular care, to point out the derivation of the box from Mary to Bothwell. But, by an asto-

* See Anderson, i. 173, for *umquhill*. It means in strictness *one-while* or *formerly*, and so comes to signify *deceased*.

nishing infatuation, it makes the box into two. And it thus destroys the whole story of the discovery, almost as effectually, as if it had disproved the whole in point of fact.

“ Elle ne luy dit chose de consequence,” says this deponent concerning the Queen and himself *just after the murder*, “ jusques a ce qu’ elle alloit “ a Seton,” which by the rebel journal was on February 21st, 1567*. “ Alors elle lui com-
“ mandast de prendre UNE CASSETTE, ou il y
“ avoit *que le thesaurier lui ap-
“ porté de France*; pour la porter a la chambre
“ de Monsieur de Boduel, qui estoit a ceste heur-
“ lá logé dedans le palais †.” From the French derivation of this strong box, and from the conveyance of it out of France by the Queen’s controller, it is apparently the very box, which was afterwards made the repository of the letters.

But, as I have hinted already, we &c.

P. 178, L. 13, this note to jewels.

So Mary calls the *ring* sent her by Elizabeth, “ la bague que m’ aves envoyée,” the most precious *jewel* that she had, “ comme mon plus cher “ *joyau*” (Haynes, 464). So likewise says one Sherrington in England; “ his *jewells*—remayn-
“ eth in his compting-howse *within a boxe*, they
“ be *all rings*” (Haynes, 64).

P. 182, L. 14, thus.

inventory, says that compiler from rebel authorities, Calderwood, in his &c.

* Appendix, No. x.

† Goodall, ii. 82.

P. 182, Note †, *thus*.

Keith, 407, and Preface, ix; and Crawford, 44. Mary brought into Scotland with her, "*manie riche and costlie jewels of gold worke, pretious stones, great pearls, and such like, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe*"; with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses" (Hollinshed, iii. 377).

P. 183, L. 1—6, *thus*.

employed Nicholas laird of Elphinston in the office of selling them, who was one of Rizzio's murderers, was pardoned at the solicitation of Murray, and continued to be an active implement of his to the last *. Murray gave several of them to his own wife; then sent Elphinston with the others, up to London; made presents of some to Elizabeth and to her ministry, both having the infinite meanness to accept them; and sold the rest in Flanders and in France †.

P. 188,

* Anderfon, iv. pt. i. 63, 111. Lesley's Negotiations, 83, Goodall, i. 304—305, Keith, App. 169, Hist. 300, 423, &c. and Melvill, 93.

† Haynes, 621, and Jebb, ii. 219. Elizabeth wrote to Murray, on October the 2d, 1568, *just when* he was now come out of Scotland, and now, with Nicholas Elphinston and others in his company (Melvill, 93), *approaching York* (Goodall, ii. 112 and 108); "to forbear to put to sale any of the Queen of Scotts jewels or goods" (Murdin, 765). He therefore had not then presented Elizabeth, with any of the jewels. He took the hint, however, from this letter. It was meant as a hint by Elizabeth herself. She who could receive, would

P. 188, L. 28, for *sensibility* read *sense*.

P. 190, Note *, *thus*.

* Hist. xviii. 364. So also Mr. Hume, v. 145.

P. 197, Note *, *thus*.

* A kind of cenotaph was formed for Darnly in a painting of the time, now preserved in Kensington Palace, and engraved by Vertue in 1742. This was compared by Vertue with another painting of the time, found by the Duke of Richmond in his castle of Aubigny, France, and brought by him over into England. The imperfections of each, made by time or design, have been supplied from the other. And both appear to have been formed by a Venetian painter in London, for Darnly's father, the Earl of Lenox, in January 1567-8. But in an inscription, preserved only by the Duke of Richmond's picture, is a chronological blunder, which has never been noticed, and yet is very gross. Darnly is said to have been slain on the *nineteenth* of February, "interfectus xix. die mensis Februarii;" when he was certainly slain in the night between the ninth and tenth, and about two o'clock in the morning of the tenth. In a corner of this, as in a picture hung up within a chapel, is a delineation of the battle at Carberry-hill; which has been since en-

would naturally invite, the jewels. Cecil himself; no doubt, was one of the ministry, that came in for a share of them. And thus Elizabeth and her ministers appear, receiving a bribe from Murray, and sharing with him in the spoils of Mary; at the very time they were pretending to try the cause between them.

D

graved

graved by Vertue, in a separate piece, and on a large scale. In it is seen Bothwell, going off from the field with only one servant. And he appears in two breaks of the hills behind, accompanied by his single attendant still, and taking a circuitous route to Dunbar. The two originals of this painting were kept, one in possession of the Earl of Lenox, the other in that of his brother John, Lord of Aubigny; from whom the latter descended to the present Duke of Richmond, and the former to that Earl of Pomfret, who presented it to Queen Caroline in 1738.

P. 198, L. 22, this note to fact.

But Mr. Hume has made it stand out still more forward, by asserting the castle to have been then "besieged" by the rebels (v. 145). He inflames the absurdity, by an incident as ridiculous as it is untrue.

P. 202, L. 10, thus.

Or he might throw the box of letters at once, down the precipices of the castle; and have it conveyed away immediately, by some associate at the bottom. Any one, &c.

P. 205, L. 3, this note to artifice.

Queen Mary is said in Douglas's Peerage, 106, to have given Sir James Balfour, "before she
"went to Lochleven castle, as an instance of her
"esteem and regard for Sir James,—a small gold
"bell with her name on it, and an enamelled cup
"and cover said to have been King Malcolm Can-
"more's; both which are now in the possession
"of

"of Mrs. Balfour, the heir of line of this Sir "James." Most probably, both were only his share of the plunder of her palace, obtained just after she was sent away to Lochlevin. Mary would certainly not *give* him any thing *then*.

P. 207, *Note*, L. 2, for *who* read *which*.

P. 212, L. 21, for *latest* read *earliest*.

P. 213, *Note* †, for *Goodall*, ii. 62—63 and 67, read *Appendix*, No. i.

P. 215, L. 23, *this note to council*.

The privy counsellors of Scotland were previously called so; Keith, 514, 515, 519, 525, 529, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 557, and 570.

P. 220, L. 17—18, *thus*.

"*ane thousand crownes of the sone* *." They thus, &c.

P. 220.

* Anderfon, i. 139—141. So Throgmorton says in France, that he lost "above the value of fixe thousand "crownes of the sonne" (Forbes, ii. 37). Lord St. John of Scotland also, in order to get his preceptory of Torphichen in 1563, erected by the Queen into a parliamentary barony, "instantly paid down ten thousand *crowns of the sun*" (Douglas's Peerage, 670). And Knox in 1561 speaks of a man at Edinborough, "that spoyled Johnne Moubry of ten "*crowns of the sone*" (P. 270). It was a coin in silver, I suppose, having the sun and a crown impressed upon it, the same with what was commonly called a French crown also, and six and eight-pence in value (Forbes, ii. 145, 161, 293, 335, and 470). So Knox reports the value of Queen Elizabeth's fount of gold, which was worth 1043l. 19s. (Keith, 357), to have been worth "*thrice*," a misprint for *thirty*, "thousand crownes" (Knox, 400); estimating the crown at

P. 220—221, from “But they also promise” ~~to~~
 “say not a word of them at present,” *omitted*.

P. 230, L. 26, *this note to ever*.

Mention has been made in the text, of Robert Steward, as the reputed assassinator of a French president. Let me here explain the fact alluded to, “One Robert Steward, a Scottish gentleman, is taken at Paris for the killing of the president Minart; and it is thought, that he and another of his countrymen did that enterprise” (A letter from the two English residents at Paris, Dec. 27, 1559, Forbes, i. 289). This assassination is thus described before. “A president of the parliament,” say they on Dec. the 18th, who was named Mineur, a great persecutor, was by two persons (— th’ one on th’ one side, and th’ other on the other side) slain with shot of two pistols; which they discharged at him, as he was going to the palais to sit in judgment” (ibid. 281—282). So much do the two residents, by their non-condemnation of the murderers, and by their actual condemnation of the murdered, as “a great persecutor,” appear to justify his assassination. One that we consider as a great persecutor, it seems, is to be assassinated. And let the world judge which is more impious, a popish persecutor, or a protestant murderer. Yet the residents countenance, and Cecil employs, the very man whom they believe themselves, and whom they report to the Queen,

six shillings and eight-pence, and only dropping the fraction of 43l. 19s. from the sum total.

to

to be a murderer and an affassin. He escaped out of prison on May the 4th, 1560 (Forbes, i. 439), and was now employed by Cecil in this congenial work of rebellion. See also Robertson, ii. 382.

*P. 231, Note *, L. 2—3, thus.*

Diff. 23, Goodall, i. 403—404, ii. 325, 329, and 104, Crawford, 358, Salmon's Abridgment of his own State Trials, 23, Haynes, 610, Murrin, 508, and Moyse, 50 and 52.

P. 232, to note of former page is thus added.

And Mary confirms this intelligence, by a prior one of the same nature. "Walsingham," she says in 1586, "as she heard, *bad practised both against her life and her son's* (Camden, Orig. i. 424, Transf. 355).

*P. 244, Note *, thus.*

* Goodall, ii. 164—166. Yet in Cabala, part i. 128, Cecil says; that Mary on the 15th of June, "yielding herself to the [rebel] lords," as if she had not ordered Bothwell off the field, left her army, and gone over to the rebels, "*flatly denied to grant justice against Bothwell*;" when she had done all that, the instant before; and when one of the rebel chiefs, the instant before, had taken Bothwell *by the hand*, had bidden him depart, and had promised he should not be pursued: "so as they have restrained her in Lothleven." Dr. Robertson also cites a MS. account of a conference in 1571, written by *Craig*, the *brother-minister of St. Giles's with Knox*, and a *full brother to Knox in the bravery of falsehoods*, as

I shall show hereafter; in which Lethington is made to declare, that “on the same night she “was brought to Edinburgh, he himself had offered, that, if she would abandon Bothwell,” when she had actually abandoned him that very day, and when the rebels had that very day urged him to depart with a promise of security, “she should have as thankful obedience as ever “she had—: but nowise would she consent to “leave Bothwell,” when she had really left him a few hours before. Such a scene of Bedlam have we here! Yet Dr. Robertson believes it all, ii. 339—340. edit. xi. Bedlam is no Bedlam to him, if it will but furnish one sorry argument against Mary. And for Lethington’s positive opinion of Mary’s innocence, see decisive authorities in what I have referred to before (3. 1), Crawford, 105—106 and 114, Camden, Transf. 116—117 and 118, Orig. i. 143, 144, and 145, and Murdin, 164.

P. 247, Note †, thus.

† Ibid. 374. See also Keith, 420, for another hint concerning a letter of the 16th.

*P. 248, Note *, L. 1—3, thus.*

This letter of the 18th is one of a train, a follower to letters of the 16th and 14th. And in that of the pretended 6th. Mary desires, that, &c.

P. 249, L. 18, this note to 11.

Yet Dr. Robertson, in his late edition, has very unthinkingly produced this, and the grand passage before, as united proofs against Mary.

So

So much can prejudice do, with a Throgmorton and a Robertson! See ii. 338—339, edit. xi.

So on July, &c.

P. 254, Note, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i.

P. 267, L. 7, thus.

do. Accordingly Throgmorton says in that covering dispatch to this answer, which I shall exhibit immediately: "Now I have by assured intelligence (*notwithstanding this smowthe speache, uttered by theys lordes in thys wrytinge—*), thay "bee resolved" to treat the Queen as we shall soon see. But they could not talk in this "smooth" strain, &c.

P. 268, note of former page, L. 1—6, thus.

contrived by Morton, as an additional barrier of security to Bothwell (Anderson, ii. 98 and 114). It was contrived by him, no doubt, in concurrence with one, who was commonly called *Black John Spens*, one of the Queen's two Attornies General (Anderson, ii. 97), though a violent Protestant (Knox, 338); who was probably engaged in the murder himself (Anderson, i. 48), who was certainly embarked in the rebellion afterwards (Keith, 452, and Goodall, ii. 370), and of whom, considering his *black* complexion and his *anti-papistical* spirit together, his contemporaries might with peculiar propriety have said,

Hic NIGER est, hunc tu, ROMANE, caveo.

Morton could not tell, &c.

P. 274, L. 3—7, thus.

“they have” to the present moment “in their
“ hearts most revered and honoured, whose gran-
“ deur they have most earnestly wished, and with
“ the hazard of their lives would have endea-
“ voured themselves to procure.” They, &c.

P. 276, L. 25, for settled in read floating in.

*P. 278, Note *, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i. and ii.

P. 280, L. 18—20, thus.

“and *the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen,*
“ which be about her,” and which (as I have al-
ready shown) were only *two women, a man-cook,*
and *a surgeon,* “to be sequestered” &c.

P. 283, L. 11—12, thus.

with the loudest voice of fame; and they uni-
formly continued to show, that they had them
not; till the 24th of July, just, &c.

———— at the bottom, *this note.*

Since this was printed, Dr. Robertson has en-
deavoured to answer *one* part of the argument in
it, by some poor and petty allegations of *policy*,
in ii. 348—355. edit. xi. The rebels did not
produce the letters though they had them, he ap-
prehends, *for fear of offending England and France*,
by charging Mary with adultery and with murder
from them. But my regular deduction of
evidences here, had precluded beforehand all
this trifling sort of argumentation, which is the
usual resort of the disingenuous. I have here
proved the rebels, not only *not* to have either
produced

produced or *noticed* the letters; but to have shown decisively by their *speeches* and by their *writings*, that they *had them not*. And, having said this, I need hardly to intimate, that Dr. Robertson has attributed the non-production of the letters by the rebels, for so many months, to the fear of offending England and France; *when the rebels themselves attribute it*, and at the very time too, in which the Doctor allows they were able and willing to speak out freely, in the month of December, 1567, to “that luif they beare unto
“hir person, wha somtime was thaire Soveraine,”
to “the reverence of his Majestie, whais moder
“she is,” and to “thay mony gude and excel-
“lent gifts and virtues, quharewith God some-
“times indowit hir;” and so attribute it, for this plain reason assigned by themselves, “in sa far
“as the manifestation theirow maie tend to the
“dishonor or defestimation of the Quene” (Appendix, No. i). Nor need I to dwell upon that striking circumstance in the disposition of the Doctor’s argument, the strong and pointed contradiction of the *end* to the *whole*; the Doctor himself in p. 354—355 citing a letter of July 25th, in which those very rebels, who were then afraid of offending ENGLAND, by charging her with *adultery* and *murder* from the letters, actually charge her *then* with *both* from them, and to the very EMBASSADOR OF ENGLAND himself.

P. 290, L. 5—6, and note, *thus*.

1568. But he deserted them, only “upon some
“private discontents” against Murray. He
therefore

therefore returned to them, on the death of Murray (a).

P. 293, Note †, L. 3, *thus*.

1582, Appendix, No. xvii. But, &c.

P. 294, to note of former page is *thus added*.

fairness. The general concurrence of Throgmorton with Murray and the men banished with him, is betrayed very clearly by a letter, which Morton and Ruthven wrote to him; when they were obliged, for the murder of Rizzio, to flee into England. In this they confidentially tell him all their secrets. And “*we doubt not to find your favour,*” they say, “*as our brethren have done of before, who were of late banished*” (Goodall, i. 265).

P. 295, Note *, L. 1, *thus*.

* Such a threat, but not *this*, was *afterwards* made, and not till the *end* of *September* following; if even then, as I suspect *this* to be a trick of Elizabeth’s *own* invention; see Cabala, &c.

——— Note †, L. 2, *thus*.

prevarications in this embassy; which he equally suppressed in his letters to Elizabeth.

P. 296, Note, L. 2, *thus*.

“*servant, to demand my audience*” (Keith, 276). See also Forbes, ii. 99, 108, 111, 113, for his “*cousin Middlemore*.”

(a) Keith, 469, Buchanan, Hist. xix. 368, Spotswood, 215, and Crawford, 150.

P. 296,

P. 296, Note, at the end, thus.

"doings." And, what was perhaps still more, *he went actually to Stirling himself*, at the coronation. "He was in town," says Spotswood, 211, though "he refused his presence to that solemnity." He came as near to the forbidden ground, as ever he dared. He stood hovering at the very line and barrier of it. And he boldly sent his cousin and his deputy, to cross the line, to bound over the barrier, and to enter the *Pandemonium* itself.

P. 298, L. 12, for earls read peers.

*P. 300, Note *, thus.*

*Keith, 424 and 425.—Having spoken already, and now coming to speak again, with some severity against Sir Robert Melvill, for his double conduct; let me here record a fact against him, that will press strongly upon the feelings of all my readers. Mary informs us of it, in her letter from Lochleven to Elizabeth, May the 1st, 1568. In this she thus writes: "Robert Melvin—says, "that he DARES NOT RESTORE THAT RING TO ME," the ring sent to her by Elizabeth, "though I gave it him *secretly*, as *the most precious jewel which I had*." "Robert Melvin—dit, "ne me l'oser randre, combien que la lui avoys baylée segretement, comme mon plus cher "jouau" (Haynes, 464). He had secretly received from the Queen a fine jewel presented to her by Elizabeth, that he might confidentially preserve it for her. She afterwards required it from him again, when (no doubt) she was meditating

tating that escape, which she effected the very day after she wrote this letter. And he then refused to return it, under the pretended fear of offending the rebels. Such a dishonourable wretch was he!

P. 303, at the end of note †, thus.

Crawford, 45. "Lough-leven," says M. Pennant, "a magnificent piece of water, very broad, "but irregularly indented, is about twelve miles "in circumference, and its greatest depth about "twenty-four fathoms.—Some islands are dis- "perfed in this great expanse of water; one of "which is large enough to feed several head of "cattle; but the most remarkable is that distin- "guished by the captivity of Mary Stuart, which "stands almost in the middle of the lake. The "castle still remains, consists of a *square tower*, "a small yard with two round towers, a chapel, "and the ruins of a building, where (it is said) "the unfortunate princess was lodged. In the "*square tower* is a DUNGEON, with a vaulted "room above, over which had been three other "stories" (Tour in Scotland, 1769, i. 64). These and the other travels of Mr. Pennant, as far as I have read them, are lively, agreeable, and instructing. Only the reader is disgusted perpetually with that *tradesman's token* in them, the studious omission of the nominative case, in order to avoid the imputation of egotism. And the authour is the mere mirror of popular opinions in history.

P. 305,

P. 305, Note †, thus.

† Appendix, No. ii.

P. 311, L. 24, thus.

Buchanan has long had, &c.

*P. 313, Note *, thus.*

* Crawford, 107. So Spotswood says of him, that he "could put on any disguise on his nature," 189.

*P. 318, Note *, thus.*

* Goodall, i. 32, Keith, 145 and 154, Melvill, 26, by mistake printed for 31, and Haynes, 358.

*P. 319, Note *, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i.

P. 321, L. 17, this note to Mary.

So "Lethington," upon a similar occasion, "soon gave them ease, by proposing the destruction of David;" and "the hint was well received" (Crawford, 7). The fertility of this man's genius, thus gave birth to the two grand and melancholy incidents of Mary's political life. It afterwards gave birth also to another, of a very different kind, the memorable plan of marrying Mary to the Duke of Norfolk (Murdin, 164 and 179). This last indeed was first proposed to Lethington in May 1565, by that very court of Elizabeth's, which afterwards pretended to resent it so much (Murdin, 759). And Lethington, who very naturally disliked it for his Queen, while she was in the full pride of her prosperity, took it up afterwards for her when she was in an English

English prison, and so put life and spirit into it. Accordingly, when Lethington began to leave the rebels, and to exert his abilities against them, John Knox then put this marginal remark to his history of 1562: "Let the world be judge now 1571; for Lethington then was, as he now is, THE FATHER OF ALL MISCHIEF" (Knox, Life of the Author, i. and Hist. 322).

*P. 325, Note *, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i. and ii.

P. 336, L. 2—3, thus.

And she was to be exhibited in colours of infamy, even much more glowing than those, in which, &c.

— *L. 5—10, thus.*

Buchanan.

They afterwards contracted, &c.

— *L. 14—15, thus.*

They left Buchanan to *bint* at her story of shame with "OTHERS." But they resolved, that neither he nor they should *insist* upon it. They determined to tell only her, &c.

P. 338, L. 5, thus.

from some strange predominancy of real or affected meanness in, &c.

*P. 339, Note *, thus.*

* Lett. iii. sect. 2. See also vol. ii. lett. 6. sect. 3. note 9, to account for all this.

P. 341, L. 9—12, thus.

exhibition and birth, are the witnesses of their shame.

same. And the triumph of Murray is dashed, by an exposure of his villainy. The letters betray the spurioufness, &c.

P. 348, L. 9—10, thus.

a pupil to the former (*a*).

*P. 355, Notes * and † and ‡, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i. and ii. † Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Goodall, ii. 84. See, &c.

*P. 356, Notes * and †, thus.*

* Appendix, No. i. † Goodall, ii. 381.

P. 357, Note †, thus.

† See it in iii. 4. 1.

P. 361, L. 3, to the end, thus.

themselves, while rebellion had its day. Afterwards the books were lost. They have long perished. Nor would any account of this act, have escaped the destruction of the whole ; if that zeal, which was so much at work in exhibiting papers for the calumination of Mary, and has been made by Providence so serviceable to the very vindication of her character, had not been usefully busy about it. At the conferences in England, as the rebels appear presenting a copy of the act of parliament to the English commissioners, so they equally presented, without appearing, a copy of the act of council too. This has happily been preserved, while the original has been lost. It was preserved in that repository

(*a*) Dr. Robertson accordingly, in i. 137, edit. xi, appeals to his work, as containing "several ingenious remarks."

of

of papers, which was formed by Cecil. There however it lay unnoticed and unknown, to the present times. No one was fortunate enough to see it, or critical enough to call it out into notice. A spirit of laborious inquiry is not a common talent in the world. It is particularly uncommon among those, who are best able to rectify the judgment of their contemporaries. But a spirit of thinking, of combining different papers into one view, of collating paper with paper, and so forming a decisive inference from all, is much more uncommon still. And this pointed proof of the forgery of the letters, lay buried in dust and darkness, exposed as a single paper to a thousand accidents, or lost in the obscurity of a thousand papers around it, for nearly two hundred years*.

P. 364, L. last, thus.

to Elizabeth herself, and which is dated as, &c.

P. 369, L. 7, thus.

“THAMESELFIS in sum principal and substantial
“clausis.” Yet, &c.

P. 378, note of former page, L. 5—6, thus.

“direction to any” (Haynes, 495). The Bishop
also, &c.

* Mr. Goodall in 1754 first noticed it as evidence, i. 43—44. Mr. Tytler in 1760 reinforced the notice, p. 7—12, edit. i. and still more strongly, p. 7—13, edit. iii. But it had been published in 1740 by Haynes, 453—454. And see Goodall, ii. 246—247 for the act of parliament presented, and my Appendix, No. i. and ii. in answer to Dr. Robertson’s ii. 367—368, edit. xi.

P. 380,

P. 380, L. 13—15, *thus*.

The journal was naturally, at first, a short outline of facts and dates. But it was afterwards enlarged with other dates and facts, and filled up with frequent references to the letters.

P. 381, L. 8, *the croichets taken away*.

P. 386, L. 21, *thus*.

For 1771 read 1571.

— L. 22, *thus*.

was warmest, as it was, &c.

P. 389, Note *, *thus*.

* See iii. 4. 2.

P. 391, Note †, *thus*.

† See iii. 4. 2.

P. 392, Note ‡, *thus*.

‡ See iii. 4. 2.

P. 393, L. 20, *this note to here*.

See iii. 4. 2, and, &c.

P. 394, L. 5, *thus*.

and subscribed in another. So far Cecil's contract, &c.

P. 397, Note *, L. 9—11, *thus*.

She appears frequently writing letters in English (Haynes, 376, &c.) She actually appears writing in *English*, to her embassadour in *France* itself (Keith, pref. vii—viii); and to her agents, Englefield, Morgan, and Paget, in *France* and in *Spain* (Murdin, 469, 514, 515, 519, 531, and 532). And the true, &c.

E

P. 209,

P. 398, L. 26, *this note to "Argyle."*

It is remarkable, that the conversation alluded to by Huntly and Argyle, is stated by them to have been held "in the zeir of God 1566 zeiris, "*in the moneth of December or thairby*" (Goodall, ii. 317). Yet Murray himself states it to have happened, "in the moneth of November, 1566" (Goodall, ii. 321). He knew the conversation so exactly, we see, that he could instantly and at once ascertain the *period* of it, even *better* than those peers themselves. This single circumstance serves of itself, to mark the general truth of Huntly's and Argyle's suggestion, and the general guilt of Murray in it. So a cunning Friar in Shakespeare, one well read in human nature, tries and tests the innocence of the accused lady; by putting a question to her, instantly upon her recovery from that fainting-fit, into which the accusation had thrown her.

Lady, WHAT man is he you are accus'd of,

he asks; when no man had been specified, and when only her guilt, if she had been guilty, could have suggested the name to her.

P. 407, Note*, *thus.*

* Appendix, No. i. and ii.

P. 409, L. 17, *thus.*

promise of marriage, and the French sonnets, &c.

P. 415, *last line but two*, instead of *from* read *for*.

P. 425, L. 17, for *sorts* read *sets*.

P. 432—433, thus.

But, in forming these additions to the delivered five, the forger was so much in haste, and so little recollected in his dates, that he committed a gross anachronism in one of them; an anachronism, which he could not have committed in a moment of leisure and reference; and which no forger of the letters, writing them in a regular consecution, could possibly make. The seventh letter, &c.

P. 433, L. 17, thus.

letter directly previous to that. These two letters calling Huntly "the brother" and "the brother-in-law" of Bothwell; the present could only have fallen into the absurdity, of calling him "the brother-in-law that was," from being written at a subsequent period. Both these letters also pretend, equally, &c.

— *Note, L. 2, for directedly read directly.*

*P. 441, Note *, thus.*

* Dr. Robertson, in his Dissertation concerning these letters, says thus, p. 36: "It is evident from a declaration or confession made by the Bishop of Ross, that *before* the conferences at York,—Mary had, by an artifice of Maitland's, *got into her hands a copy of the letters*—." Brown's Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, 31, "36." This "confession or declaration" is printed by Murdin, p. 62. In it the Bishop says thus: "*Before* our passing to York, Robert Melvine com to Boltoun with letters, sent be Lidingtown from Falscastell to the Quene my
"mistress,

“mistress, to advertise her, that Therle of Murray was wholly bent to utter all that he could aganes the Quene, and to that effect had carried with hym all the lettres, which he had to produce aganes the Quene, for prove of the murther; *wheroff he had recovered the copie,* and had *caused his wyfe wreit them,* which *he sent to the Quene.*” This assertion of the Doctor’s, therefore, is seemingly grounded upon good authority. Yet I suspect that it is *not* true. That Maitland, or Lethington (as he is generally called), was a friend to Mary *at* the York conference, is plain from a variety of testimonies. Yet he sent her no copy of the letters, I apprehend.

Had he sent her one, it must certainly have been communicated to this very Bishop, who is here said to have known from Mary his conveyance of a copy to her, who was the great manager of all her concerns at York and at Westminster, and who stepped forward so boldly afterwards, to vindicate her character in print. But the Bishop appears decisively from his own memorial of December 17th, 1568, to have seen no copy *then*. He had gained, and from Lethington undoubtedly, some very particular intelligence concerning the letters. But he had no copy. Not afraid to use his intelligence, even in an address to Elizabeth; he tells her, as I have already shown, that the letters “contain na dait of zeir, moneth, or day.” But, if he had seen a copy, he could not have said this. At York all the letters were dated. And the second was so at Westminster,

Westminster, and is so still. He says also, that
 “in the samyn thair is na mentioun maid of ony
 “beirar” (Goodall, ii. 389). Yet the first and
 the last openly intimate *Paris* to be the bearer,
 and the second says expressly that *Beaton* was.
 And these persons are noticed accordingly by the
 commissioners at York, to be the mentioned
 bearers of the first and second (Appendix, No.
 vii). It is plain therefore, whether Mary had or
 had not a copy sent her *at* or *before* the York
 conference, that her very agent and confidante had
 certainly seen none at all, as late as the 17th of
 December, 1568.

But Dr. Robertson adds thus: “It is highly
 “probable, that the Bishop of Ross had seen the
 “letters, before he *wrote* the Defence of Queen
 “Mary’s Honour in the year 1570.” This de-
 fence was *written* in the end of the year 1568,
 and the beginning of the year 1569; and was
published by the *authour* in the spring of 1570
 (Appendix, No. xii). Yet it is very clear, and
 it is very remarkable, that the Bishop had not
 seen a copy, even so late as the *publication* of his
 Defence. This was also republished with altera-
 tions by the authour, in 1570-1; and our pre-
 sent copy is taken wholly from this second edition
 (Appendix, No. xii). Yet, so late even as
 1570-1, he had not hitherto seen a copy. This
 appears from his repeating the same mistakes con-
 cerning the letters, in his Defence, and in the
 second edition of it too; which he had originally
 made in his memorial. He still asserts, that
 “there appeareth neither date, wherein they

“were dated, neither day nor moneth.” And, as he subjoins, “there is no mention made of “the bearer, who is, as it may be supposed, for “any name he beareth, the man in the moon” (Anderfon, i. 18—19, Defence). So ignorant were Mary’s commissioners and advocates to the last, concerning the letters!

Nor, in all probability, was Mary herself more knowing. She revised this very Defence. She corrected it. She made notes, of some additions to be inserted in it (Appendix, No. xii). Yet she suffered these accounts of the letters, to remain uncorrected upon the face of the work. She could not have done this, had she known them to be false. She must have known them to be false, had she received a copy of the letters. In all probability, therefore, she had seen no copy at the time. And either the Bishop was deceived in his memory, which is not likely, as to Lethington’s sending her one; or else, which is very likely, this confession of his has been altered and interlined by that interpolating hand of forgery in Cecil, which has so frequently interlined and altered other papers concerning Mary (Goodall, ii. 199, 223, 235, 239, 247, and 254), and which was once concerned in a plot of actual forgery against her (Appendix, No. xiv). And the Bishop himself had certainly and undoubtedly seen no copy, as late as his first edition in 1569-70, or even as late as his second in 1570-1.

P. 449, L. 9—10, thus.

not only *not* learned French, but could not even write, &c.

P. 455,

P. 455, L. 8—10, thus.

A new set of letters was fabricated out of the old. The six also, which are the number that was probably exhibited to parliament, were now reduced to five, by the deduction of the Linlithgow letter from the whole. And, what was, &c.

P. 475, Note, L. 2—3, thus.*

that the letters, &c. were “by testimonies and othes of men of honor and credit of that country,” Scotland, “testified and avowed—to have been written and subscribed, as is there,” in the Detection, “alledged, and so delivered, &c.

P. 488, L. last but four, thus.

long conjectured to be the celebrated, &c.

P. 489, L. 15, for Buchanan; of read Buchanan; as of.

P. 491, L. 25—28, thus.

To the original three of his authour, he added not all the other five, but only four of them; as, from some accident, a great part of the French eighth was lost. And, &c.

—— *last line, and last but one, thus.*

at present; and is the only French copy, actually known or morally possible to have existed at all.

P. 494, L. 5, thus.

he inserted only three. He plainly meant from his manner to have inserted all †. And he actually, &c.

P. 495,

† In Jebb, i. 254—255, he appeals thus to the *first* letter:

E 4

“Legite

*P. 495, Note *, thus.*

* Goodall, i. 103. The French preface to the French Detection and Letters, is very strangely omitted by Jebb, i. 281.

P. 498, L. 9—11, thus.

He alludes to the appearance of *six* letters in *Scotch* at York, of *five* in *French* at Westminster, of *sundry* in *Scotch*, and of *eight* in *French*, there.

P. 500, Note, L. 9.

for *Blac*, *Mai-tre* read *Blac-Maître*.

P. 505, L. 2, thus.

the *ten* letters of the journal, and with the *sundry* letters, &c.

“Legite ipsius epistolam; epistolam, inquam, ipsius manus scriptam.” He then quotes a passage out of it. In 259 he refers to the *third* thus: “Ex ejus epistolâ facîle potest colligi, in quâ,” &c. And in 266 he thus appeals to *all* the letters from *Glasgow*: “Quibus indiciis, testimoniis, literis ipsius reginæ, tota res teneatur.” Just in the same language, he refers to *all* the letters from *Stirling*. In 248 he says: “Volens-ne an invita” Mary was carried away by Bothwell, “ex literis ad eum ex itinere scriptis facîle quivis intelliget.” Just so in 243 he says: “Quæ autem fuerit illius profectionis” to *Glasgow* “causa, facîle ex literis ejus ad Bothuelium quivis intelligat.” The letters from *Stirling*, therefore, he equally meant to have published in Latin, with the letters from *Glasgow*. And he accordingly published what he did publish, expressly as “literæ Reginæ Scotiæ ad Comitē Bothuelium scriptæ,” or (in the words of the English translation at the time) as “the—letteris “found in the—casket” (Jebb, i. 270, and Anderson, ii. 110).

P. 513,

*P. 513, Note *, L. 2—3, thus.*

on a large rock, that had a long neck of land leading up to it.

P. 515, L. 4, thus.

have been followed for ever by, &c.

P. 516, the paragraph beginning, But we find, omitted.

P. 517, L. 1—20, thus.

Thus were the rebels continually making alterations, in the letters; and thus did they make some, which now constitute the difference between the ten and the eight. In an unaltered state were the letters at the meeting of the Scotch parliament. They were thus produced before it. But in an altered one they came to the conference at York. Then six of the ten were shown to the commissioners, as six probably had been shown to the parliament before. Three of these were from Glasgow, two from Stirling, and one from Kirk-a-field. So far did the rebels proceed in their original purpose, of exhibiting the murderous letters with the rest. They did so, in direct opposition to their present plan. Yet, with as direct a conformity to it, they suppressed *another* of the murderous letters, that from Linlithgow. And they produced not *some* of the *others*; the fourth, which is from Glasgow, and the seventh and eighth, which are from Stirling. Nor was it before the conference at Westminster, that they resolved upon the retention of the two, from Linlithgow and Kirk-a-field, together. They thus exhibited

exhibited only five, on the 8th of December at Westminster. But they had exhibited *sundry* the day before.

P. 519, last line but three, and last line.
for *ten* read *sundry*, and for *eight* read *several*.

P. 521, L. 24—28, thus.

They also produced not three others of the letters. They either suppressed, what they had originally fabricated; or they withheld, what were not yet in existence. They had either not resolved to create any more letters *then*, or they had resolved to condemn these to silence and obscurity in the coffer for ever.

P. 522, L. 6, thus.

took them, out of the coffer again, or they set down to fabricate them. They then had them &c.

P. 532, L. 16—20, thus.

were also DIVERS in number, and SIX probably, with the parliament of Scotland, the first and second, which are from Glasgow, two from Kirk-a-field and Linlithgow, and the fifth and sixth, which are from Stirling. They were certainly SIX at York; the first, second, and *third*, which are from Glasgow, one from Kirk-a-field, and the fifth and sixth, which are from Stirling. They were only FIVE at Westminster, on the 8th of December; the three from Glasgow, and the two from Stirling. They were SUNDRY at Westminster, on the 7th of December, and probably SEVEN; the letters of the 8th, and the two from
Linlithgow

Linlithgow and Kirk-a-field, united together. They were afterwards THREE MORE ; the fourth, the seventh, and the eighth. And they were even, by an union of all, and by a reduplication of some, EIGHTEEN in the months of December and January, 1569, &c.

P. 533, L. 14—15, thus.

in Scotch, and both pretending equally to be Mary's writing.

A D D I T I O N S

A N D

C O R R E C T I O N S

I N

VOLUME SECOND.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

I N

VOLUME SECOND.

P. 7, L. 23, thus.

“**S**E offerre mihi fit ausus, ut qui judicaret,”
&c.

P. 13, to note †, is thus added.

“commendations.” See also Haynes, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 112, &c. &c. for “commendations;” 16, 24, 150, 207, and 210, for “commend;” and 62, 75, 112, 113, 116, 123, 124, 152, 201, and 212, for “recommendations.” See likewise Murdin, 17, for “recommendations.” And see “commendations” in Forbes, 1, 5, 24, 88, 89, 94, 96, &c. and “recommendations,” 1, 45, 104, 132, even in French thrice 1 and 7, and in 11, xi. 280, 496, &c.

P. 19,

P. 19, L. 10, *thus*.

with the Queen. And, as Lenox had really signed the written agreement for the murder of Rizzio; so the Queen had even pardoned him in form, for his acknowledged share in the deed, *immediately after* the commission of it. "The "Earl of Lennox," says Hollinshed, "being "partaker with them, came to *Dunbar*, and got "pardon (*a*)."
She therefore *knew* of his concern in the murder, and could not *suspect* it: she had *pardoned* him long since, and could not be *persecuting* him now; and this letter appears an errant forgery.

P. 29, Note ||, *thus*.

|| *Ibid.* 292—293. And Hollinshed, as if he meant to contradict the Rebel Diary and Buchanan's Detection (Anderson, ii. 6 and 269) directly says, that Mary remained at Alloa "certeine daies, the Earles of Murraie and Mar being of companie with hir (ii. 384).

P. 36, remark (3), *thus*.

(3) The Latin translating "nevertheless" by "præterea," the French, reading it as "præterea," and giving it the signification of *after this*, renders it by the word "puis." In this little instance we see that progressive formation of an error, which has often interposed, no doubt, to multiply mistakes in the French of these letters, but which we can seldom trace so distinctly as we do here. And the error is, &c.

(a) ii. 383.

P. 39.

P. 39, *remark* (4), L. 1—2, *thus*.

(4) "And quhairfoir I come," Scotch, "item
"cur venissem," Latin, "item pourquoy j'estoye
"venue," French; and "gif it was for gude
"appointment," "an" &c.

P. 41, L. 6, *thus*.

managed. "In particular," Scotch, and "no-
"minatim," Latin, have no correspondent word
in French.

— L. 9—10, *thus*.

a list of the officers of one's household. The La-
tin, &c.

P. 42, L. 23, for *folly* read *extravagance*.

P. 43, L. 5, *thus*.

negotiating among them.—"Yat I wald fend
"Joseph away," Scotch, "an Josephum di-
"missura effem," Latin, and "si je ne vouloye
"pas licentier Joseph," French. This is another
proof, of the derivation of the French from the
Latin (*a*).

P. 45,

(*a*) The letter, to which I have referred above, is one of
the many papers, that James Beaton or Bethune, Archbishop
of Glasgow, and embassadour to the French court for Mary
and for James, from 1561 to the time of his death in 1603,
repositied by his will in the Scotch college at Paris. They
consisted of the letters and other instruments relating to his
long embassy, and the publick records of his see. But both,
for want of taste and discernment in the rectors of the college,
lay for eighty years confused in bundles or heaps, placed in
old trunks without locks, and kept in a wardrobe accessible
to all. They were sure to suffer, therefore. They had
been borrowed by the curious. They had been carried off

F

by

P. 45, L. 20, thus.

Latin, in the principal work, when, in the letters, it is evidently nothing more, &c.

by the unskilful. And they had been much diminished in their number. Yet many remained after all. These were perused, arranged in order of time, and formed into volumes with numbered pages, by the good sense of the Reverend Mr. Lewis Innes, rector of the college, and of his brother Mr. Thomas Innes, the justly celebrated author of a critical Essay on the antient inhabitants of Scotland (Keith, Hist. 151, and Appendix, 146). Of these papers Keith published several sent him by Mr. Thomas Innes, sometimes in the originals, and always in a translation. He published the present letter particularly, in one, and the original has been lately published, in *Histoire d'Elisabeth Reine d'Angleterre par Mademoiselle de Keralio*, v. 200—204. But the authoress additionally informs us, that the present rector, Abbé Gordon, promises the publick a new history of Mary from these papers (iv. 100 and 337). I am very glad to hear it. Yet, if I may presume to advise the Abbé, he will rather throw his new lights into the form of an historical disquisition, than of a history itself. The history of Mary at present is so interrupted in the course of events, and so broken in its impression upon the heart, by the necessary interposition of controversy; that it is in vain to write the one before the other is settled. Where almost every inch of ground is to be maintained with the sword, as it were, there can be no consistence of history preserved. Narration will run off, in spite of itself, into dissertation. And the page of fact and reflection, will be loaded with notes to ascertain the one, and will be encumbered with remarks to justify the other. History, therefore, is a very improper vehicle for such information. It can only be conveyed by dissertation. Here controversy has its full scope, and the conduct of Mary may thus be ascertained, with all the powers of argument, of satire, and of eloquence, combined in her defence.

P. 45,

P. 45, L. 31—32, *thus*.

Detection, to which the letters were annexed, is said to, &c.

P. 50, *to remark (2) this note added* ||.

|| See iii. 2. at the end for a note, concerning this signification of the French word.

P. 54, *Note §, last line, thus*.

Thus the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatterault, in 1543 “left Edinburgh—in the evening, being Monday the 3d of September; —and next day went to Calendar” (Keith, 31). But a fall of snow, probably, prevented the Queen from moving faster to or from Calendar.

P. 61, *end of note †, thus*.

King James. See also Appendix, No. xvi.

P. 64, *remark (6), L. 1, thus*.

(6) *Causam* is, by some neglect of the press, omitted in Goodall’s edition. It is in Jebb’s (a). And it is also in the French.

P. 65, *remark (8), and note *, omitted, as now inserted before*.

P. 69, L. 9, *this note to Latin †*.

† So also in Hist. xvi. 324, &c.

—— *to remark (4) is thus added*.

(4) “Ze will say,” Scotch, “tu dicis,” Latin, and “vous dites,” French.

P. 73, L. 25, *to 74, L. 5, thus*.

table. So attacked, the devoted victim very na-

(a) is 271:

† 2

turally

turally fled behind her for refuge, laid hold o her garments for protection, and threw his arm around her waift for security. Even there he wa attacked by thefe wretched affaffins, who rufhe upon him fo eagerly there, as to overthrow th table upon the Queen, with the meat and candle on it. The Countefs of Argyle, natural fifter t the Queen, and one of her guefts at the time fnatched up one of the candles in a hurry. B the light of this, and of that on the ground, Riz zio, fhinking as he was behind the Queen, wa stabbed by one of the villains *over her very fhoul ders*. The blow was aimed with fo much near nefs to the Queen's face, that, as fhe afterward declared, " fhe felt the coldnefs of the iron" i its movement by her cheek. It was alfo ftrud with fo much fury, that the striker could not re cover the dagger, but was obliged to leave i fting in the body. The poor man was the forced from his hold, while *a dagger was held a gainft herfelf*, by another of the ruffians, *in th very act to stab her*; and while even *a cocked piftle was pointed* by another, *at the very child withi her*. He was at laft dragged away, bleeding an screaming, amidft the threats and intreaties o the Queen, into an adjoining chamber; and in ftantly difpatched there by the fwords and daggers of thefe desperately mad murderers, with no le than *fifty-fix* wounds.

P. 74, Note *, L. 6—8, *thus*.

"dagger." They fay it was "one Patrick Ba
"lentine,—who, alfo her Grace fayth, *offer*
"a da

"*a dag against her belly with the cock down*" (Robertson, ii. 357). The wretch also who struck Rizzio over her shoulder and so near to her cheek, was George Douglas; who did it with the King's own dagger, cunningly snatched by him from the King's side (Melvill, 64). And the Queen accordingly refused to pardon Car and Douglas; when she pardoned even Balentine himself, with all the rest (Murdin, 763). These three peculiar monsters, &c.

*P. 80, L. 16—17, and note *, thus.*

four or five months before. About September the 24th *, Darnly, &c.

P. 82, L. 13—17, thus.

in his history, not merely ~~for~~ the petty purpose of accommodating his narrative to the letters, but with the grand view which he uniformly pursued afterwards; that, &c.

* The Queen departed from Stirling on September the 25th. "She departed ten or twelve days ago," says a letter of October the 8th (Keith, 348). Lenox also came to Stirling "while the Queen was absent," staid there "two or three days," went back to Glasgow, wrote a letter to the Queen, and she received it "on St. Michal's day" (Keith, 348). She departed and he came, therefore, on the 25th. After her departure it seems at first to have been, that Darnly communicated his design to Le Croc. "The Queen," says Le Croc, "is now returned from Stirling to Lisleburgh;—the King however abode still at Stirling, and he told me there that he had a mind to go beyond sea." Yet the communication appears immediately afterwards, to have been made *before* the Queen's departure; as "since that time" of the communication, adds Le Croc, "the Earl of Lenox, his father, came to visit him." The conference with Le Croc, therefore, took place on the 24th at latest.

P. 82, Note †, *thus*.

† Goodall, i. 311, from a letter written by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Mr. Beale to Queen Elizabeth (Cotton' Library, Caligula, c. 9), and written (I suppose) in November or December 1581; as Mr. Beale was sent to Mary in November (Murdin, 1781), and Buchanan died in the September following (Ruddiman, Vita, 9). We have also another authority for the atheistical part of his character. "Georgius Buchananus," says Cox in his Life of Mary, was "primùm Calvini partiaris, tum *athæus*" (Jebb, ii. 35.)

P. 84, L. 25, for 26*th* read 24*th*.

P. 87, L. 23—25, *thus*.

is. *That* set his name to the history, *this* did not to the letters. Such a circumstance would pull, &c.

P. 89, remark (2), L. 3, *thus*.

Latin, and "aussi," French, are added in the next sentence.

P. 96, to remark (2) is *thus* added.

French. But the latter clause is charged with peculiar absurdity. The King, as we shall see hereafter, yet keeps his bed. He was also very weak. We may be sure that he was reduced very low before he sent for the Queen. And the memoirs of Crawford tell us expressly, that the Queen "was extremely moved to find him in *so bad* a condition; and waited carefully upon him "—, *till*, the strength of his nature overcoming "the venom of his disease, he was *able* to abandon
"don

“don that place, and travel (though slowly) to
 “Edinburgh (*a*). He thus travelled in a *litter*.
 Yet here, we see, he is made to say he would rather go *with her* to Edinborough. And he, who *some days afterward* was forced to be carried slowly in a litter, now declares himself able and ready to *ride on horseback* with her. Imaginary incidents never take such a deep hold upon the mind of the fabricator himself, however blest he may be with that happy ductility of genius, which can mold itself to every character and every circumstance, as to produce an entire consistency of narration. We see this exemplified in the novels of Richardson, where, after the corrections of several editions, some circumstances still occur, which are contrary to the general history, and check the progress of the reader in the narration. And therefore we may wonder the less at the present contradiction, gross as it is; when the whole was formed in haste, and never revised afterwards.

P. 98, to L. 7, is thus added.

“That he was redly *when* I pleisit,” Scotch;
 “*se, ubi* vellem, paratum esse,” Latin; “qu’il
 “*estoit prest d’aller ou* je voudroye,” French: the
 last mistaking the meaning of the Latin *ubi*, and
 so disfiguring *when* into *where*.

P. 100, L. 18, for 30th read 29th.

P. 109, last line but three, for 7 read 6.

(*) *P. 12.*

F 4

P. 112,

P. 112, L. 3, thus.

corrected Latin; reading perhaps "excusavi" into *excusanti*, and so continuing the sense over the period.

P. 113, last line, thus.

prefs. "Ane prufe," Scotch; "experimento" "didiciffem," Latin; "appris par l'experience," French.

P. 114, L. 2, thus.

French. As it is too much to be omitted by accident in the Latin, I suspect it to have not been in the Scotch originally, as well as the two sentences which we have seen before.

P. 117, last line, thus.

"icy." And it was led into this absurdity by ~~a~~ previous one, by rendering the comparative "ni—" "hilo magis," in this positive manner, "rier" "d'avantage."

P. 118, to remark (6) is thus added.

making the version.

"This is my first jorney," Scotch; "hæc est" "mea primi diei expeditio," Latin; "voyla ce" "que j'ay despeché pour mon premier jour," French. The last is plainly nothing but the Latin, *done* into French by the hand of ignorance. The *doer* particularly mistook the meaning of "expeditio," and therefore gave us "despeché" to answer it. But both the French and the Latin unite to show us, how the pure wine of an original may be diluted away, by the successive waterings of a translation. And thus the first day's

work of the Scotch, is lowered into the first day's expedition of the Latin, and then sunk entirely away into the expediting of something for the first day, in the French.

P. 118, to remark (7) is thus added.

25th. But the French, in consequence of its own mistake, immediately before, only *hopes*, "*esperant*," to finish it on the morrow.

P. 125, to remark (2) is thus added.

the forgery. "The name," Scotch; "*nomini*—"bus," Latin; "*le nom*," French, from the corrected Latin.

P. 128, to remark (1) is thus added.

commissioners.—"*Wryte*," Scotch; "*pingam*," Latin; "*escry*," French, from the corrected Latin.

P. 133, remark (7), L. 1—2, thus.

(7) "*Waryit*," Scotch, is a curse, fully as strong as "*malè fit*," Latin, and as "*maudit*," French. "The day," &c.

P. 134, L. 3, thus.

"take on hym," &c. How indecent, therefore, is the introduction of such a curse as this, into the pretended letters of Mary! It might have suited the bold and impious genius of Elizabeth, who loved to indulge herself in this masculine kind of profaneness. But, with the mild and amiable and religious Mary, it forms the grossest impropriety. And it therefore presents us with a new proof of the general forgery.—"*Pokische*," Scotch; &c.

P. 135,

P. 135, remark (2), L. 2, thus.

"parent," French; the last *then* answering, as it does at present, exactly to the second, though it is so different from the first. See sonnet 1, remark (4), in vol. iii. And Bothwell's uncle, &c.

P. 136, L. 7, thus.

"lie direct."—"He being at the urther end
"thairof," Scotch; "cum ipse in remotissimâ
"lecti parte sit," Latin; "luy estant en la par-
"tie du liêt plus esloignée," French.

P. 139, L. 4, thus.

The notices are *not* all of them, the contents of the, &c.

P. 140, L. 22—26, thus.

"as he possibly could carry the same away." This extraordinary conduct in Crawford, in Lenox, and in the King, shows the last *not* to have been so penitent as he professed to be, and *not* so credulous as Dr. Robertson represents him to have been (*a*). He was not weaned still from his little, low humour of plotting; that humour, which a weak mind like his frequently affects; and by which the mighty void of understanding is filled up with a wretched mass of cunning. But Crawford goes on thus. "And sure," &c.

—— *Note *, L. 1—2, thus.*

219, &c. Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, 118, &c. and Haynes, 18, 20, 32, 59, 70, 212, 213, 249, &c.

(*a*) Hist. i. 396.

P. 144,

P. 144, L. 2, for *said to me in* read *said in*.

P. 146, L. 4—5, *thus*.

times, as to proper names, and to have caught some of them from it.—But why is, &c.

— *remark (3), thus*.

(3) “Pledgethame,” Scotch, is in Latin “re-bi-berem eorum nomine;” and in French “pleige-roye,” a word then common to the French as it still is to the English and Scotch languages, in this peculiar sense of it; and “*en leur nom*,” an expression purely Latin.

P. 148, L. 9, *thus*.

not, as of late he has been so steadily considered to, &c.

— *remark (5), L. 3, thus*.

“Ze cannot be sa welcom,” Scotch; “non—tanta e tuo accessu potest—esse lætitia,” Latin; “la joye de *nostre* [a mis-print, I suppose, for “*vostre*] venue ne leur peut estre si grande,” French. How is the Scotch dilated here, in that loose and circuitous mode of writing Latin, which was considered as elegance by Buchanan, and is still considered so by all our modern writers of the language! And how servilely does the French follow the Latin, becoming as circuitous and as loose as it!

P. 156, L. 10, *thus*.

“thorò usuram velut antea, ac ne sæpiùs (6) eum,” &c.

P. 163, Note †, at the end, *thus*.

Pref. vii. “Sche revived,” says Knox, “by
“ressoun

“reffoun they had bound small cords about hir
 “shackle-bones [ancles], hir knees, and grit
 “toes” (p. 399).

P. 169, remark (7), thus.

(7) The Latin has here mistaken the meaning of the Scotch, and the blind Frenchman was obliged to follow his blinded conductor. “*Doing this* upon my word,” refers to the clause preceding “upon condition that I will *promeis* to him,” and means *promising* itself. This the expression of “*doing this upon my word*” shows decisively. Yet the Latin renders the clause, “*hoc si faciam;*” and the French, “*si je le fay ainfi.*” And both the French and Latin, for that reason, leave out the latter half of the clause, “upon my word;” as having no sense and meaning, upon their interpretation of the whole.

—— *remark (8), L. 3, for on read for.*

P. 175, remark (5), L. 5, thus.

“fould send hir heid to thame.” Bothwell also is represented by Paris in his first confession, as acting and speaking thus: “O beast, said he to me, and *boasted* to strike at me with his whinger (a).” He too, who is here said to “boist,” is expressly said to “threittin” before (b).

P. 176, to L. 2, this note.*

* This was also one of Mr. Goodall’s arguments, i. 95—96.

P. 181, remark (1), thus.▲

(1) “For—at this tyme,” Scotch; “*nunc qui-* dem,” Latin; “*maintenant,*” French.

(a) Goodall, i. 143.

(b) Sect. 13.

P. 214,

P. 214, L. 26, *thus*.

the bottom, in a few days only. And as I shall show hereafter (a), that even the money of January the 23d did not leave Glasgow, till the 26th; and that it then left the city, *along with this very letter*; the total silence in this very letter, of having sent the former, and the actual asking in this very letter, if Bothwell wanted more, unite together to prove the letter a plain forgery.—“Silver,” Scotch; &c.

P. 215, L. 9, *thus*.

her return?—“Quhen I *fall* returne,” Scotch; “quando *debeam* redire,” Latin; “quand je *doy* retourner,” French.

P. 218, Note §, L. last, *thus*.

Pref. xi. Melvill, 76 and 77, and Murdin, 763.

P. 219, Note *, *thus*.

* Hist. xviii. 364. So Mr. Hume also says, v. 144—145.

P. 221, last line but three, *thus*.

“pense de vous (8), pour ce mien facheux labour.”

P. 224, L. 7—9, *thus*.

writing to Mary's.—“Evill *wryting*,” Scotch; “in *pingendo* imperitiam,” Latin; “ignorance a *escrire*,” French, from the corrected Latin: “read it twyse over,” Scotch; “eas *relege*,” Latin; “*relisez* mes lettres,” French.

(a) See chap. 3, sect. 4.

P. 225,

P. 225, L. 4—5, thus.

Every *memorandum* but one, makes a distinct paragraph of itself. So different, &c.

P. 232, L. 28, thus.

moment. Such a translation of the whole clause, “to mak me advertisement of *your newis* from “tyme to tyme,” into “quodd me certiorum faceres, si quid incidisset novi, per singula propè “momenta,” appears the more remarkably wild and extravagant; when we consider, that the same expression recurs in a future part of this very letter, and that “advertise me of *your newis*” is *there* translated thus, “fac me certiorum de *tuis rebus*.” For this reason perhaps, &c.

P. 233, L. 11—13, thus.

And the addition may well be balanced by the suppression. But, &c.

P. 234, Note, thus.*

* Anderson, i. 91 and 92.

P. 244, Notes and †, thus.*

* Haynes, 510.

† Diff. 27.

P. 245, between L. 10—11 is this inserted.

But let me here dwell upon the Queen's pain in her side, a little more. It is thus spoken of, in three passages of cotemporary papers. “She “sayd,” as one of Cecil's flatterers tells us, who went to visit her just after Elizabeth's violent removal of her to Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, “that all that day she wrought with hir nydill, “and that the diversitie of the colors made the

worke seme lefs tedious ; and continued fo long
 at it, till veray payn made hir to give over :
 and with that layd hir hand upon hir *left* fyde,
 and complayned of *an old grief newly increased*
there (a). In a letter of her own ſhe herſelf
 ſays thus : “ I have taken ſome medicine this
 daye, and have a little acceſs of an agew,
throughe the paine of my fyde ; wherefore I will
 pray you,” the Duke of Norfolk, “ to excuſe
 me that I write not at more lengthe (b).” And,
 in a letter of Biſhop Leſley’s to the ſame Duke,
 we have this very circumſtantial account. “ Pleaſe
 yow bee advertiſed,” ſays the Biſhop, “ the
 Queene of Scottes hath bene marvellouſe fore
 vexed with *payne of her fyde*, which engendreth
 continyal vomytes. The cauſe thereof, as
 conſidered by the Doctours,” Good and Apſlow,
 who were ſent to her from London (c), “ is only
 ſuffocacio matricis quia definit eſſe mater, which
 they affirme to be a common diſeaſe to virgines
 and young widowes ; ſo that, how ſoon that ſhe
 ſhall begyne to be a mother and bear children,
 ſhe wyll be wholly relieved, by Godde’s grace,
 of the diſeaſe. She is now growing better,
 thankes bee to God. Trewlie the vehemencie
 thereof, at this tyme, *did procede of a grounde*
melancholie, ingendred of deſpayringe her
 cauſes (d). The phyſicians, we ſee, attributed
 this pain in her ſide, to a cauſe that could not have
 been productive of it. They aſcribed it to her be-

(a) Haynes, 510.

(b) Murdin, 158.

(c) Murdin, 27.

(d) Ibid. 165.

ing a widow so young, and to her not bearing children. But we find her equally afflicted with "a grievous pain in her side," at a time when she was *not* a widow, and *soon after* she had been actually a mother. And these physicians seem to have reasoned in that low and gross strain of philosophizing, which shuts all agency of spirit out of its system, and confines itself within the narrow sphere of matter. Mary's pain in her side, was produced by an affection of her mind. It "did procede of a melancholie" on her spirits. It was therefore the more "vehement" as the melancholy was more "grounded." It was *then* attended, sometimes with vomitings, and sometimes with aguishness. And *then* also it was occasionally increased, either by over-writing or by over-working.

P. 251, *last line but two, thus.*

"*of law* to go forwart." "I will," says Murray upon another occasion, "continue *the day of law* "till another time (*a*)."
And, &c.

P. 252, L. 8—10, *thus.*

"hold." It appears equally in a diary, kept by Cecil himself; who says in 1565, that "May 3. Erle Murray and Argile [were] at Edinburgh "to keep the *law-day* agaynst the Erle of Bothwell (*b*)."
It appears too in the additions to Hollinshed's history; the Earl of Huntly in 1562 being said to come with a large party towards

(*a*) Goodall, i. 398, from Calderwood's MS. Hist.

(*b*) Murdin, 758.

Aberdeen, in order "to helpe his son at the *law-day* appointed for his apperance (*a*).” And “the laird of Balfouris” was the well-known Sir James Balfour, called by Lord Hunsdon “Baford (*b*).” and by Walsingham “Sir James Baford (*c*).” as he is here, &c.

P. 254, last line, thus.

French, from the corrected Latin. So the words “that can be offarit,” have not these or any correspondent words in Latin, *quæ possit occurrere*; and yet have these in French, “qui se pourroit présenter.” And Miscellaneous, &c.

P. 259, L. 11, thus.

“facient (*γ*). Quod ad me,” &c.

P. 266, L. 21—22, thus.

these. Accordingly, we find it in a letter from a Scotch gentleman, so late as 1701; Who, speaking of “the folio and quarto editions” of Knox’s history, says, “I desien to cause collate *thir* two editions (*d*).” In these pretended letters of Mary’s, we, &c.

P. 267, last line but two, thus.

York; before the word *composing* was thrust into the text, and while the words *favour of the stars* yet possessed its place. A determination, &c.

P. 276, L. 3, thus.

January 26th.—“Gude nicht,” Scotch, which in

(*a*) ii. 379.

(*b*) Murdin, 758.

(*c*) Haynes, 524, and Robertson, ii. 463.

(*d*) Knox, *Life*, li.

Lett. 5. Sect. 3. is rendered "la bonne nuit," in French, is here "valedico," Latin, and therefore "dy a Dieu," French.

P. 284, L. 28, *thus*.

accompanied to and from Glasgow, as &c.

— *last line, thus*.

in France; and the palace being now held, I believe, as it had certainly been seized a few years before, by the head of all the Hamiltons, the present Duke of Chatelleraut. This is, &c.

P. 285, L. 19,

for *the King* read *Bothwell*.

—, L. 22, *thus*.

apartments *above*. So Bothwell himself is made to say, in Calderwood's translation of Paris's first confession, when he and Darnly were at Kirk-a-field, and the latter confined to his chamber; "if that this King *here above* get on his feet," &c. (a) Then only could either he or she point, &c.

—, *Note**, *thus*.

* Detection, 15 and 65, Anderson, ii. 242, and Jebb, i. 259; Admonition, 3; Ruddiman, ii; Keith, 330, 485, 487, and 488; and App. No. x. And Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 351, says of Kirk-a-field and Mary, in exact conformity to what the blundering letter says of Mary and Glasgow; "Ibi ipsa aliquot noctes, *extra se in longum colloquio*, conquievit."

(a) Goodall, i. 138.

P. 298, L. 9, *thus*.

prison. But he soon escap'd out of it again; and he and his wife appear, no less than seventeen years afterwards, in attendance upon their Queen, during her melancholy imprisonment in England (*a*).

P. 300, *to remark* (4) *is thus added*.

reasoning. *Conditions*, it is well known, meant formerly the manners or temper of a person. "Conditionis," therefore, was probably translated *mores* by the Latin. And *mores* was rendered into "façon" by the French. Such *derivative* absurdities we have frequently seen in the French before.

P. 307, *Note* *, L. last, *thus*.

before, and also returned along it, with their army (Knox, 381 and 383).

P. 310, at L. 5, *is thus added*.

head. It even contradicts the confession directly; since it speaks of the lodging at *Edinburgh* positively, and speaks of it as *positively appointed already*. Paris, &c.

P. 319, to L. 20, *is thus added*.

letters. And he might well, therefore, bring her no tokens from Bothwell or any one else.

(*a*) Crawford, 41; and Murdin, 438. See also a letter from her keeper, Paulet, Sept. 10th, 1586; in which he says of the Queen's servants, that "all, save *Bastiane*, are silly and simple souls, as there was no great cause to fear their practises" (Robertson, ii. 474).

P. 321, to remark (1) is thus added.

"vim, abduceret." Here, therefore, is a plain proof of forgery.

—, Note *, thus.

* Hist. xviii. 356. Knox also says p. 405, that Bothwell "meets the Quene, according to "apoyntment betwix thame," &c.

P. 330, L. 29, thus.

journey to it; and so clearly is *that* demonstrated to be a forgery, by *this*!

P. 331, remark (5), thus.

(5) "*Weill*, thair wantis nathing of my part." *Well* is a word peculiar to the common language of England and Scotland. It is also used in a very peculiar manner, by it. It may come into writings of the familiar kind, because it frequently occurs in the familiarities of conversation. But it never occurs in more formal writings. Nor, even in familiar compositions, can it readily appear, upon the face of a translation; because it has no correspondent term in any other language. It is accordingly found here, not answered in the French by any word or words like it in meaning; "*tant y a que*," the French for it, being very different from it, and signifying *however*. And yet it actually appears, in Calderwood's translation of Paris's first confession; and appears repeatedly in it (*a*).

(*a*) Goodall, i. 138, "well;" 140, "well, well;" and 141, "well, well."

P. 334,

P. 334, to last line is thus added.

"*diligence.*" And Miscellaneous Remarkers, who objected to the expression in the Scotch letter, is again deceived by his ignorance of the Scotch language (*a*).

P. 354, L. 15, thus.

And it is finally confirmed by the very rebels themselves, in the excuse which *they* made for the subscriptions in general, that these were extorted from the subscribers by force; the *rebel* subscribers alleging a force upon *all*, when the *loyal* subscribers allege none; and *those* showing themselves decisively by the act, to have been the principal of all the subscribers. In Cecil's copy, &c.

——, to note † is thus added.

Crawford, 23 and 26. Boyd drew off Argyle (Buchanan, i. Hist. xix. 369).

*P. 356, Notes * and †, thus.*

* Appendix, No. xvii. for Caffils, Sutherland, Rothes, Sinclair, Oliphant, Ogilby, Rosse-Hacat, and Carleile, May 8, 1568; and Goodall, ii. 353—354, for them, September 12, 1568. Rosse-Hacat is only *Rosse of Halk-head* (Douglas's Peerage, 582), I suppose, abbreviated in pronunciation. He is therefore called simply Rosse, in Appendix and Goodall, *ibid.*

† Appendix, No. xvii. and Goodall, ii. 65.

(*a*) P. 31. See also Goodall, ii. 165, "doing of all diligence was possible."

P. 357, *Note**, *thus*.

* Appendix, No. xvii. and Goodall, ii. 65.

P. 362, L. 28, *thus*.

falsehoods. Accordingly we are informed by Knox, that “quhat by fear, quhat *by fair promises*, first of thair *private state*, and then of “*advancing the papists religioun*,” Bothwell induced them to subscribe (*a*). And, &c.

P. 366, L. 23—24, *thus*.

“Time,” Scotch; “homme,” French, as in Goodall, for “heure,” as in Buchanan. But let me make one remark upon this strange variation. The words are “l’homme” in Goodall. They are “l’homme” also in Jebb (*b*). They were “l’homme,” therefore, in the *first* French edition of the letters. And yet they are, as they ought to be, “l’heure” in the French sentences prefixed to the *first* edition of the letters in *Scotch* (*c*). This then is a *direct* evidence, against the truth of Dr. Robertson’s assertion. “The French editor,” he says, “laid hold of “these sentences, and tacked his own translation “to them (*d*). He did *not* do so, it is here evident from a single word. He printed from another copy, read a word in it wrong, and drew Jebb and Goodall afterwards into the same wrong reading. And a positive fact comes in here, to overthrow entirely a fantastical allegation.

(*a*) Knox, 405.

(*b*) i. 343.

(*c*) Detection, 153, Anderson; ii.

(*d*) Diff. 34.

P. 370, L. 15—16, *thus*.

"handling of myself," occurs frequently in the letters of that period. Thus our two residents at Paris in 1559-60, write to Cecil: "youe may see, how we are *bandeled* without any regard; "—it was not our parts to indure so evill *bandeling*;—the bold and unhonorable *bandeling* "of us (*o*)."^a Nor is this mode of expression so, &c.

P. 372, L. 8—9, *thus*.

and "aucunement," French, equally added (*b*).

P. 374, Notes † and ‡, *thus*.

† Vol. iii. Chap. 2. ‡ Appendix, No. x.

—, L. 20—22, *thus*.

therefore did not depend upon the *seizure* (*c*). And the letter, &c.

P. 381, L. 21—22, *thus*.

the creation of these famous letters, in the very creators of them.

P. 394, L. 18—21, *thus*.

And as her and Elizabeth's commissioners are said by the latter, to be waiting till the former should hear "from the Quene their mistrefs, by "their next *depeche*;" so is Mary herself represented by the English embassadour at Paris in 1559, to have said "she had the more cause" to keep up the peace between Elizabeth and

(a) Forbes, i. 304—305.

(b) See iii. 2. 13.

(c) See this point more amply discussed, in Appendix, No. v.

France, "for the neere PARENTAIGE" or relationship, "which is betwixt your two Majesties;" and our embassadours there talk of DEVISING or converſing, and of DEVISES or converſations (*a*).

P. 395, L. 10, *thus*.

Savoy. Throgmorton too ſpeaks of "the Duke of Guyſe with parte of the campe," being "acyſtyd" or accompanied "with the Duke of Montpencier and hys force (*b*).¹" Quintin, Kennedy, Abbot, &c.

—, L. 14, *thus*.

"thevis or BRYGANTIS, we creip in," &c.

P. 396, L. 20—24, *thus*.

which is neither French nor English peculiarly, in its application here; but is common to both languages. Thus "I am ſecretly informed," ſays Throgmorton in a letter of July 27th, 1559, from Paris, which lays open the commencing aims of Murray upon the throne of Scotland, "that there is a party in Scotland, for the placing of the Prior of Saynt Andrewes in the ſtate of Scotland; and that he himſelf doth, by all the ſecret meanes he can, aſpire *thereunto* (*c*).²

Indeed

(*a*) Goodall, ii. 156. Thus we have "depeched" in Haynes, 8, 12, 23, 29, 31, 38, 130, 225, 240, 248, 250, &c.; and "depech," 30, 137, 149, 249, 253, 256, 260, &c.: "depeched" in Forbes, i. 126, 324, 330, 353, 364, &c.; and "depeche," i. 316, 328, 329, 337, 356, 368, 371, &c. And ſee Forbes, i. 106, for "parentaige," i. 221 for "deviſing," and i. 229 for "deviſes."

(*b*) Forbes, ii. 3.

(*c*) Forbes, i. 180. So alſo i. 278, "pretend title to ano-
" ſher

Indeed our own use of the word *state*, and the French use of the word *etat*, at present, for the governing part of the community; particularly in the titles of "secretary of *state*," and "secretaire d'*etat*;" concur exactly with this use of the word, in Throgmorton and in the letter (*a*). And then the question of Darnly is only this, whether Mary "had maid her estait," had made up the number of her ministers of state; and whether she "had taken Paris and Gilbert to write to "her," to be her secretaries of state. The ministers of a sovereign, then, were a formal and regular part of his household.

P. 398, L. 6, thus.

the Tweed. Queen Mary, say Elizabeth's commissioners at York, "wrote also" in the first of her pretended letters, "that she lied and diffembled to get creadite with her husband, and to bringe her *fascious* purpose to pass (*b*)." The Duke of Norfolk also, writing to, &c.

*P. 399, to note * is thus added.*

in 338. In Haynes also, p. 1, we have, "de-moure." And in Forbes, ii. we have, 13, "scarbillade," 251, "esbranled," 259, "deva-lifing," 289 and 303, "escarmouche," 343, "evenements," &c.

"ther *state*;" and 298, "when *states* chaunge," meaning sovereigns, "the ministers were chaunged."

(*a*) So we have "secretaire d'*estat*" in Morgan's letter to Queen Mary, Murdin, 478; "conseillers d'*estat*" for privy counsellors of Scotland, in a letter of Mons. Fontenay's, Murdin, 550; and *estat* for offices of state, Keith, 140.

(*b*) Appendix, No. vi.

P. 400,

P. 400, last line, thus,

of a friend in drinking. Even our very word "pledging," and in our very sense of it too, was formerly retained by the French language, and actually appears in the French of the first letter at present; the clauses "that he wald drink to "ye folk yat I wist of, gif I wald *pledge* thame," being rendered thus in Latin, "quòd præbiberet "eis quos nossent, eâ lege ut ego *re-biberem* "eorum nomine," and thus in French, "qu'elle "beut a ceux qu'elle cognoissoit, soubz condition "que je le *pleigeroye* en leur nom (a)." But, &c.

P. 401, L. 25—26, thus,

"*duraturæ*." But as Skinner further observes, though the Remarker chose to suppress his observation, because it was pointedly against himself; "*foy*, ut Doct. Th. H. videtur, a Fr. G. [Franco-Gallico, or modern French] *voy*, via, et QUI "HUJUSMODI COENAM DAT, GALLIS DICITUR "FAYER LA VOY." This shows the parting-supper to have been *still* retained in France then, and to have been then also denominated a *foy*; but from confounding the pledge of friendship with the journey on which it was given, because of the similarity in the terms *foy* a pledge and *voy* a road, to have been altered into *voy* in pronunciation; and the giver of it to have been said by the French, *payer la voy* or to pay the

(a) Sect. 22.

pledge.

pledge (*a*). And all serves to show the custom, which in Holland and in France was or is, &c.

P. 401, L. last, and last but one, thus.

Holland, and in Scotland, under the particular appellation of a *foy*, and in England under the general one of a *pledge*, &c.

P. 407, L. 2, thus.

Glasgow into three: as after the exhibition at York, and after that at Westminster, they extended, &c.

—, *L. last but three, thus.*

April 22d, as the seizure is asserted to have been on Thursday, &c.

*P. 408, Note *, thus.*

* Appendix, No. x.

P. 410, Note †, thus.

† Appendix, No. x.

P. 413, L. 20, thus.

Mary, according to the rebel journal itself, set out, &c.

P. 415, L. 14, thus.

noon at soonest. And the plan, &c.

P. 417, remark (4), L. 1—2, thus.

(4) Bothwell's force was about a thousand horse (*b*). Yet, &c.

P. 418,

(*a*) The name, here hinted at, is one of Skinner's friends, "D. Th. Henlhaw armigerum SRM [secretarium] ab epif-
"tolis Gallicis" (Præfatio ad Lectorem).

(*b*) Crawford, 19, says 800; Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 356,
says

P. 418, L. 2, for eight hundred read a thousand.

—, L. 11, thus.

French “achever,” to finish my dispatch; as if it must not have been *finished* already, when it had been already *written*; and as if, &c.

—, to remark (6) is thus added.

The character of Lord Huntly has suffered in a very particular manner, by the slanderous imputations of the rebels. These have calumniated him boldly. In such a case there are always some in the world, too weak not to believe, and too malicious not to circulate the suggestions of slander. And as it is only the justice, which every man would challenge and claim for himself under calumnation, to vindicate such an injured character as his; so will this be most effectually done, I think, by exhibiting the rebels in the very act of refuting their own calumnies.

When the Queen took her journey to the sick Darnly at Glasgow, she was “*accompanyit*,” says the rebel journal, “with the Erles of *Huntly* and “*Bothwell* (a).” This seemingly innocent intimation, Buchanan paints in all its designed range of mischief. “To Glasgow scho gais,” he says, “*accompanyit* with the Hammiltounis, and *utber* “the Kingis *naturall enemeis* (b).” Huntly is thus made equally an enemy to the King, with Bothwell himself. But this suggestion is much

says 600; but Bothwell’s Act of Attainder, dated the 20th of December 1567, says he seized the Queen, “*cam adoe* “*riendo cum mille equitibus armatis*” (see Black Acts).

(a) Appendix, No. x.

(b) Anderson, ii. 17, Jebb, i. 243.

improved afterwards by Buchanan. "As gif hir-
 "self alone," he says of Mary, "wer not suffi-
 "cient to execute the cruell tormenting of him ;
 "scho bringis into his sight *the ministeris of bir*
 "*baynous doingis*," Bothwell and Huntly, "and
 "his ancient naturall enemeis," the Hamiltons ;
 "and with thir [these] outrages travellit to vex
 "his saule, at his last braith (a)." Huntly is
 thus made to be co-operating with Mary and
 Bothwell, in the murderous designs upon Darnly.
 Mary is accordingly described in the journal, on
 the night of the murder to have "past up ac-
 "companyit with Argyle, *Huntly*, and Bothwell
 "to the Kingis chalmer ; and thair thay remaynit
 "cheriffing him, quhill Bothwell and his com-
 "plices hayd putt all thingis to ordour (b)." Previously to this, Bothwell declares in the *first*
 confession of Paris : "I have my Lord Argyle, *my*
 "*Lord Huntly my brother*, my Lord of Morton,"
 &c. confederates in the project against the
 King (c). And, posteriously to it, Huntly is said
 in the *second* confession, to have come to Bothwell
 just at the very moment of sallying out for the
 murder, and to have offered, though he was not
 permitted, to go with him (d). Buchanan adds
 in his Detection, that "*Huntly* and Bothwell—
 "had before daylight," after the murder, "causit,
 "be special for-appointit messingeris, rumouris to
 "be spred in England, That the Erles of Mur-
 "ray and Mortoun wer doeris of that slauch-

(a) Anderson, ii. 47, Jebb, i. 253. (b) Appendix, No. x.

(c) Goodall, i. 140.

(d) Goodall, ii. 82.

"ter (*a*).” Thus is Huntly constantly linked in the same couple with that blood-hound Bothwell, by the hands of the rebels; though none of their papers says he was actually concerned in the murder, and though one of them unwarily declares he was not permitted to share in it. He is therefore delineated by one or other of our rebel forgeries, as still pursuing the same game with Bothwell. “April 5,” afterwards, as the journal tells us, “the secund contract of mariage, per verba de præfenti, wes maid and wrytten “be *my Lord of Huntly*; quha, for his restoring “agane the forfaltour, had purchasit and procuratory subscryvit with his sister’s hand, then “wyif to Bothwell (*b*).” He is thus exerting his interest with his sister Lady Bothwell, to draw her into a concurrence with Bothwell, and to agree to her own divorce in order to make way for his marriage. He is also averred by the rebels at York, to have been the first man who signed the bond, recommending Bothwell as a husband to Mary. And he afterwards appears engaged in the plot, for the pretended seizure of Mary by Bothwell; though he is seen at the close, repenting of his engagement, *and yet acting under it*. April 21, viz. “Mounday, the Quene raid to “Stirling, as it wes devyfit, and from thence “wreyt the letteris concerning the purpose de- “vyfit of hir ravishing; quhair *Huntly* came to “hir, and *began to repent him* — : April 24,

(*a*) Anderson, ii. 20, Jebb, i. 243—244.

(*b*) Appendix, No. x.

"*she sent the Erle of Huntly* to Bothwell in the morning, quha met hir upon the way, seamit to ravish her," &c. (a)

The rebels have thus carried on one uniform plan of calumination against Lord Huntly, through all these forgeries of theirs. They have only made two slight and incidental deviations from it, in the beginning repentance of Huntly about the seizure, and in the non-permission of Huntly to share in the murder. Yet they have made a grand one, in the letters. These speak quite a different language. And I have entered into this argument, in order to note the difference here.

In the very first letter, Mary is made to write concerning *Huntly* to Bothwell, in very harsh terms. She desires Bothwell to take something "in gude part, and not efter the interpretatioun of" "ZOUR FALS GUDE BROTHIR; TO QUHOME, I" "PRAY ZOW, GAF NA CREDITE (b)." Huntly is thus exhibited to us by the rebels themselves, as an *enemy* to the *adulterous* Mary, as busy in his interpretations, and as dangerous in his zeal, against her. And we thus take our first ground upon the letters, directly opposed to that of the journal, the confessions, and the Detection, Huntly was this very enemy, at that very time when these represent him as a friend.

Nor is this merely a temporary enmity in him. It continues as much *after* the murder, as it existed *before*. She speaks of him exactly in the

(a) Appendix v. and x.

(b) Scot. xxviii.

same strain from *Stirling*, as she did from *Glasgow*. The *fifth* letter exhibits him equally as an enemy, with the *first*. "I advertist zow weill," she says, "TO TAK HEID OF ZOUR FALS BROTHER-IN-LAW." But why had she now cautioned him against Huntly? He "hes preichit unto me," she adds, "yat it was ane fulische interpryse," to be seized in order to be married. He is therefore *against* the seizure. He had also said, it seems, "that with myne honour I culd never marry zow." He is therefore *against* the marriage too. "Zour negligence," she subjoins, "DOIS PUT US BAITH IN THE DANGER OF ANE FALS BROTHER;—I DAR NOT TRAIST ZOUR BROTHER WITH THIR [THESE] LETTERIS; and PUT NA TRAIST IN ZOUR BROTHER FOR THIS INTERPRYSE, for HE HES TALD IT, and is also ALL AGANIS IT." This *seventh* letter also continues the tale of the *fifth* and *first*. "ZOUR BROTHER-IN-LAW YAT WAS," it says, "come to me verray sad" &c. And he, who is shown in the journal formally engaged in carrying on the seizure, and actively busy in promoting the marriage; is shown in the letters, as in a *Camera Obscura*, totally inverted in his position, as *all against* the marriage, and *all against* the seizure.

Such a gross and substantial contradiction as this, between the letters and the other forgeries of the rebels, is astonishing in itself. It serves to prove the forgery of all, in a significant manner. But it is additionally useful, in vindicating the insulted character of a worthy man, a man in-

sulted

sulted for his very worth by these sworn foes to all worthiness. And thus the weapons, that inflicted the wounds, are made to minister a salve, that really and effectually cures them.

P. 423, L. 21, *this note to himself.*

Since the publication of *my* work I have been convinced, that the *other* is Lord Hailes's after all. The affectation of appearing as no enemy to Mary, while much mischief is attempted to be done her; is equally striking in Lord Hailes, and in the Miscellaneous Remarker. But some particular words in the pamphlet concur powerfully with this observation, and significantly denote his Lordship to be the author of it. "My Lord Hailes," says the Remarker, "quotes a writing *in his possession*—: I have reason to believe that *that writing is at present in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, to whom it belongs*" (p. 4). This directly coincides with the report in London, which expressly ascribes the pamphlet to Lord Hailes. Scarcely any but Lord Hailes could know, to whom the writing really belonged, and to whom it had been actually given up. And the censure upon Lord Hailes was thrown in, to disguise the true author; while the noticed surrendery of the writing to the Duke of Buccleugh, and the whispered intelligence of the author's name in London, united unwarily to betray him. So difficult is it for any one, to pursue an uniform plan of disguise! So very difficult is it for a writer, to suppress entirely in himself and in others, the vanity of whispering

H

a name

a name that is intended to be concealed! The vanity must originate at first with the author himself. He must betray his own secret. Lord Hailes did. He acted like the young woman in Virgil :

Malo me Galatæa petit, lasciva puella ;
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

And his Lordship, I know by recent experience does not even now deny himself to be the author.

P. 424, L. 7—8, thus.

this letter. And yet, say the rebels themselves she was seized by Bothwell upon Thursday (*a*)

P. 426, L. 6, thus.

minced, into ELEVEN at least. Thus have we again, and with a closer correspondence than before between the incident and the allusion, “*el ven* buckram men grown out of,” not even “two,” but one only.

P. 428, L. 28, and P. 429, L. 5, thus.
confound them.

But there is a much greater, &c.

(*a*) Appendix, No. x.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

I HAVE now gone over the letters. It has been a tiresome employ, to read, to transcribe, and to comment upon, such a mass of impertinence and dulness. But it has answered an useful purpose, I trust. The letters have never been examined, with so much strictness before. A regular survey of them was much wanted. Great mistakes had been made, concerning their meaning and their language. These it was requisite to tear away, as the showy pilasters of the old fabrick of forgery; after I had thrown down all the supporting pillars of it. And, having done this, I wish to do one thing more. These letters were first brought into England through Elizabeth, and first given to the publick in England by Elizabeth. She published them, in order *primarily* to blast the character of Mary for *unchastity*, to exhibit her as a *wanton woman* to all the island, and to hang her up as a shameful spectacle of *whoredom* to the eyes of the whole continent. And it is therefore become a necessary act of retributory justice, to close my preceding vindication of Mary from this slander, with some exposure of Elizabeth for the very offence so falsely ascribed by her to Mary.

— I. —

Elizabeth very early made proud and solemn pretensions, to a life of virgin purity. In 1559, when she was only in the *twenty-sixth* year of her age, and the Commons solicited her to marry; she returned them this high-toned answer. ““ Con-
 ““ cerning marriage,” said she, ““ which ye so
 ““ earnestly move me to; I have been long since
 ““ perswaded, that I was sent into this world by
 ““ God, to think and doe those things chiefly,
 ““ which may tend to his glory. Hereupon have
 ““ I chosen that kind of life, which is most free
 ““ from the troublesome cares of this world, that
 ““ I might attend the service of God alone.
 ““ From which, if either the tendred marriages of
 ““ most potent princes, or the danger of death in-
 ““ tended against me, could have removed me;
 ““ I had long ago enjoyed the honour of an hus-
 ““ band. And these things have I thought upon,
 ““ when I was a private person. But that, now
 ““ that the publick care of governing the kingdom
 ““ is laid upon me; to draw upon me also the
 ““ cares of marriage, may seem a point of incon-
 ““ siderate folly. Yet, to satisfy you, *I have al-*
 ““ *ready joyned myself in marriage to an husband,*
 ““ *namely the kingdom of England.* And behold,”
 said she, ““ which I marvell ye have forgotten,
 ““ *the pledge of this my wedlock and marriage with*
 ““ *my kingdom.*” “ And therewith *she drew*

“*the ring from her finger, and shewed it ; where-
 “ with, at her coronation, she had, in a set form of
 “ words, solemnly given herself in marriage to her
 “ kingdom. Here having made a pause, “ And
 “ do not,” saith she, “ upbraid me,” &c.
 “ To me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for
 “ the memoriall of my name, and for my glory
 “ also ; if, when I shall let [out] my last breath,
 “ it be engraven upon my marble tomb, HERE
 “ LIETH ELIZABETH, WHICH REIGNED A
 “ VIRGIN AND DIED A VIRGIN (a).” A nun,
 when she has just now taken the veil ; and when
 those peculiar coronets of glory, which are sup-
 posed to be reserved in heaven for the Holy Vir-
 gins of earth, are now shining bright before her
 imagination ; could hardly have acted in a live-
 lier manner, and hardly have spoken in a stronger
 language, than this.*

Not was this self-devotion of the royal nun, merely the momentary resolution of a young woman, uttered in a fervour of intemperate zeal, and repented of in the prevalence of passion afterwards. It was steadily persisted in, to the last. This a memorable passage in Shakespeare very plainly shows us. Plays have always been the sure and faithful mirrours of the age, in which they were exhibited. They have constantly shown “the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure.” Shakespeare’s, from his quick attention to the moving characters and floating passions before him, do peculiarly so.

(a) Camden, Orig. i, 35. Transf. 27.

And he has marked with the spirit of a critical discerner, and complimented with the pliancy of a theatrical writer, this favourite principle of virginity in his royal mistress.

That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth
 Cupid all-arm'd : a certain aim he took
 At A FAIR VESTAL THRONED BY THE WEST,
 And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts :
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft,
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon ;
 And THE IMPERIAL VOTRESS PASSED ON
 IN MAIDEN MEDITATION, FANCY-FREE.

And she appears accordingly, to have worn "the
 "bridal ring" of England, from her first assumption of it in 1559, at the marriage of this female
 Doge with the Adriatick ; to her final illness in
 January 1602-3. "The courtiers—report," as
 Camden tells us, "that she *then* commanded that
 "ring, wherewith she had been (as it were)
 "joined in marriage to her kingdom at her inau-
 "guration, *and had never since taken off*, to be
 "filed off from her finger ; because it was so grown
 "into the flesh, that it could not be drawn
 "off (a)."

Yet all this was merely hypocrisy. It was an
 hypocrisy, begun very early, continued very late,
 and persisted in throughout the whole extent of
 her reign. This her conduct to THE EARL OF
 LEICESTER decisively shows. "She answered"

(a) Camden, Orig. ii, 283, Transf. 659.

to me, says the embassadour of Mary in 1564,
 “ it appeared that I made but small account of
 “ my Lord Robert [Leicester, then only Lord
 “ Robert Dudley], *seeing that I named the Earl*
 “ *of Bedford before him;*” but said, “ that ere
 “ long she would make him a far greater Earl,
 “ and that I should see it done before my re-
 “ turning home. For she esteemed him as HER
 “ BROTHER AND BEST FRIEND, whom she
 “ WOULD HAVE HERSELF MARRIED, had she
 “ *ever minded to have taken a husband.* But,
 “ *being determined to end her life in virginity,* she
 “ wished that the Queen her sister might marry
 “ him, AS MEETEST OF ALL OTHER, WITH
 “ WHOM SHE COULD FIND IN HER HEART TO
 “ DECLARE HER SECOND PERSON,” that is, to
 declare her heir and successor. “ And that the
 “ Queen my mistress might have the higher esteem
 “ of him, I was required to stay till I should see
 “ him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Den-
 “ bigh; which was done at Westminster with
 “ great solemnity, the Queen herself helping to
 “ put on his ceremonial,” his mantle of state,
 which our Sovereigns always helped in putting on,
 at the formal creation of an Earl, “ he sitting upon
 “ his knees before her with great gravity. But
 “ SHE COULD NOT REFRAIN FROM PUTTING
 “ HER HAND IN HIS NECK, TICKLING HIM;
 “ THE FRENCH AMBASSADOUR AND I STANDING
 “ BY. Then she turned, asking me, HOW I
 “ LIKED HIM. I answered, That, as he was a
 “ worthy servant, so he was happy, WHO HAD A
 “ PRINCESS WHO COULD DISCERN AND REWARD

"GOOD SERVICES.—She told me, She was not
 "so much offended with the Queen's angry letter,"
 though she had before declared it "to be written
 "to her with such despiteful language, that *she*
 "*thence conjectured all friendship and familiarity to*
 "*be given up;*" "as that SHE SEEMED SO FAR
 "TO DISDAIN THE MARRIAGE OF MY LORD
 "OF LEICESTER, which she had caused Mr.
 "Randolph to propose to her." Afterwards
 "she took me to her bed-chamber, and opened
 "a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pic-
 "tures wrapped within paper, and their names
 "written with her own hand upon the papers.
 "Upon the *first* that she took up, was written
 "MY LORD'S PICTURE. I held the candle, and
 "pressed to see that picture so named. She ap-
 "peared *loath* to let me see it. Yet my impor-
 "tunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and FOUND
 "IT TO BE THE EARL OF LEICESTER'S PIC-
 "TURE. I desired, that I might have it to carry
 "home to my Queen; WHICH SHE REFUSED,
 "ALDLEDGING THAT SHE HAD BUT THAT PIC-
 "TURE OF HIS." And the embassadour adds at the
 close, on Mary's asking him, if he thought Eliza-
 beth as friendly in heart as she was in words.
 "I answered freely; that in my judgment there
 "was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning,
 "but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear,
 "left her princely qualities should over soon chace
 "her from the kingdom, as having already hin-
 "dered her marriage with the Arch-duke Charles
 "of Austria. It appeared likewise to me, by her
 "offering unto her with great appearing earnest-
 "ness

"nests my Lord of Leicester, WHOM I KNEW AT
 "THAT TIME SHE COULD NOT WANT," that is,
 could not do without (*a*). Yet this was the wo-
 man, who was "determined to end her life in
 "virginity." Hypocrisy of speech is always be-
 trayed by its own contrariety of action. That
 indeed is frequently not hypocritical in promise,
 which is contradicted eventually in the perform-
 ance. But that is certainly hypocritical, which
 continues the speech at the very moment it con-
 tradicts it in action. And Elizabeth's was evi-
 dently an hypocrisy of the grossest kind.

— II. —

Yet Leicester was not the only gallant, with
 whom this determined virgin indulged herself.
 She had others. A letter of the time shows the
 fact, in all its sweeping comprehensiveness of
 profligacy. This letter is written by Mary her-
 self. But it contains merely the intelligence, that
 was communicated to her by the wife of her
 keeper, the Countess of Shrewsbury. And Mary
 relates it all to Elizabeth, not with any view of
 reproaching her, but with the aim only of show-
 ing the disposition of the Countess towards her.

Mr. Carte indeed, who had merely *heard* of it,
 says thus concerning it. Nothing else, but Eli-

(*a*) Melvill, 47—48, 46, and 53.

zabeth's "insulting her prisoner," and "up-
 braiding her in letters with those infamous ca-
 lumnies," he tells us, "could have provoked
 Mary to have wrote her answers, *charging her,*
and the woman of her bedchamber, with a course
of wanton amours; and naming the very persons,
that ministered to their pleasures. The lord
 treasurer Burleigh took care, to keep these let-
 ters from coming to Elizabeth's hands; but
 preserved them: and they were afterwards bu-
 ried two feet under ground, in his son the Earl
 of Salisbury's house, at Hatfield in Hertford-
 shire. They were there found a few years ago,
 in a stone chest, rolled up in woollen; and
 were shewn by the publisher of Burghley's pa-
 pers," Haynes, who published in 1740, "to
 the late master of the rolls, at his seat at Belbar
 in that neighbourhood, and to another venera-
 ble gentleman still living (a)." This account
 shows us very clearly, the customary confusedness
 of all traditional notices. Mr. Carte and his in-
 formant reported each, what each believed to be
 true. But they framed one wild mass of mistakes,
 in their report. They totally mis-understood the
 exhibitor of the letters. They actually fancied
 the letters *two*, when they were only *one*. They
 actually imagined "the woman of the bed-
 chamber" to Elizabeth, to be equally with Eli-
 zabeth herself, "charged — with a course of
 "wanton amours;" when no "woman of her
 "bed-chamber" is here noted for such a

(a) Carte, iii. 828.

"course,"

“course,” and when neither she nor Elizabeth are “charged” with any at all. And the whole narrative of wrapping the letters “in woollen,” of repositing them “in a stone chest,” and of burying all “two feet under ground in—the Earl “of Salisbury’s house at Hatfield;” is all some relation of *another* event, indistinctly heard by the relator, and untruly applied to the present letter. That such a letter should be so buried, exceeds all power of belief. That one or two letters should be buried in such an ample repository as a stone chest, surpasses all stretch of imagination. And that either it, or any other, should be “pre-served” above ground by Cecil for some time; “afterwards” buried in the earth by him; buried too, not even in his own house, but in that of his second son; and all,—in order to keep it from Elizabeth’s inspection, as if Elizabeth would ransack the cabinet of the father for it, the cabinet of the son, the libraries of both, and even the very floors of the ground-rooms at the father’s; when she could know nothing of the letter, all the time: still more surpasses all stretch of imagination, and still further exceeds all power of belief.

But indeed the pretended fact is disproved by external testimony. “The concealment and discovery,” says Mr. Murdin, who published the letter from the Hatfield collection of papers, “as “there represented” by Mr. Carte, “is entirely “un-supported from any evidence, that is come “to my knowledge. The letter itself, in the original, I found *open* amongst the other papers of
“the

“ the Earl of Salisbury’s library, without any appearance of design to have it secreted.” It might well be “ open” *then*, and *then* “ without any appearance of design to have it secreted;” when it had been already carried by Mr. Haynes from Hatfield-house to Belbar, and shown there by him to the master of the rolls and another gentleman. But we next come to a more material point. “ And the manner in which it was discovered, as Mr. Carte affirms —, is a circumstance *absolutely unknown* to any *one* person in my Lord Salisbury’s family; as far as I can learn from the *strictest* inquiry, I have made “ concerning it (a).” Such a discovery as this, is an incident so very singular in itself, and so powerfully calculated to strike upon the wondering fancies, and to rest upon the wonder-keeping memories, of all the subordinates particularly, in the family at Hatfield; as would naturally be transmitted from mouth to mouth, through two or three generations at least; and could not possibly have been lost in the “ few years” only, that preceded Mr. Carte’s writing, who published in 1752, and the *seven* years only, that afterwards preceded Mr. Murdin’s inquiry, who published in 1759. And a negative evidence, so circumstanced, mounts up into positive, and becomes irrefragable.

This letter then was not concealed from Elizabeth. There was no need to conceal it. It was not written by Mary, in any spirit of recrimination

(a) Murdin, 560.

upon her, as Mr. Hume additionally suggests it was; and suggests, not like Mr. Carte, from a verbally communicated mis-representation of it, but even after he had actually perused it himself in print (a). Yet the whole tenour of the letter shows it was not. The intelligence in it appears, to have been previously *offered* by Mary, and previously *desired* by Elizabeth. This is now delivered by Mary, with *regret* that such things have been said to her, and with a *protestation* that she child Lady Shrewsbury at the time, for most of them; because she *did not believe them then*, and *does not believe them now*, to be true. She attributed all to the natural disposition of the Countess, and to the spirit of dislike which she then had for Elizabeth. She also declares, that they have not come from her at present, with any design of giving pain to Elizabeth by revealing them; and that they shall never be farther known from her, because she considers them as very false. She accordingly calls God to witness at the beginning, that she has delivered them very sincerely, and without any bias of passion upon her. She again vows "upon her faith and honour" at the end, that the whole is represented as it was delivered. She adds, that if she can have the happiness of a personal conference with Elizabeth, she will then lay open particularly the names, times, places, and other circumstances, of what she has related in this letter; and also of some other stories, which she reserves for the period, when she shall be fully

(a) Hist. v. 387.

assured of Elizabeth's friendship. This she desires, she says, more than ever. Nor, if she can obtain it, shall any relation, friend, or even subject, be more faithful and affectionate to Elizabeth, than she shall be. And she concludes the whole in this very affecting manner: "For God's sake be assured of her, who is willing and able to serve you: From my bed, forcing my arm and my pains, to satisfy and obey you."

Mary, then, wrote this letter from no principle of provocation against Elizabeth. She composed it, from a very opposite principle. She hoped to win upon her generosity, by her explicitness; to procure a personal interview with her, by a promise of still greater explicitness; and to secure her friendliness at last, by both. With this hope, she revealed the conversation of a woman, to whom she owed no friendship; the Countess having insinuated to Elizabeth against her, that she and the Earl were too intimate together. "That —the fidelity of the Earl of Shrewsbury," says Camden in 1584, "—might not seem to be suspected (for it was not thought good openly to blemish so great a man's reputation, which, notwithstanding, they had stained secretly by calumnies, grounded upon *the false accusations of his ill-conditioned wife*), suspicions were laid hold of," &c. (a) These calumnies are oddly particularized on his tomb stone. It is there said, "that his integrity" in keeping Mary "was not to be suspected in the least, although evil-dis-

(a) Camden, Orig. i. 363, Transl. 303.

posed persons gave out, that *be used too much familiarity with his royal prisoner (a).*" And it was traditionally reported of his wife near the time, That she "coming to court, and Elizabeth demanding how the Queen of Scots did, she said, *Madam, she cannot do ill [in spirits] while she is with my husband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are so great together (b).*"

But Mary herself notices these slanders, in a couple of letters to Monf. Mauvissiere, the French embassadour at London. "I have written to you amply two times," she says, "*concerning these abominable reports circulated, of my conversation with the Earl of Shrewsbury, issuing only from his good wife; of whom in the end I shall be constrained to take hold with all openness, if the Queen of England will not clear me from this calumny: two considerations only have kept me to the present hour, from seizing the advantage which I have against her, by discovering before the said Queen of England and her council, her private behaviour towards myself, and in my cause with the Earl of Leicester and some other lords of the realm. The first point with me, is to preserve my reputation for integrity and steadiness, among those who are well affected towards me.—The other consideration is this, That though I can particularly charge this unhappy woman with various speeches, boasts, and practices, as well against her Queen, as*

(a) Collins's Peerage, ii. 419, and i. 297, edit. 4th.

(b) Collins, i. 298.

"against

“ against me and some lords of this land, yet I
 “ fear to do wrong to her husband, because it will
 “ be found strange by what means I could have
 “ the knowledge of so many of the things.—But
 “ there is nothing in the end that I do not ha-
 “ zard, to succeed as far as I can in the preserva-
 “ tion of my honour, *which is dearer to me than*
 “ *a thousand lives.*—I therefore require you with
 “ all the affection that I can, to continue livelily
 “ the course which you have begun, for my ré-
 “ paration under *this detestable calumny.*—*All*
 “ *these troubles proceed entirely from the Earl of*
 “ *Leicester and from Walsingham,* who, I am cer-
 “ tainly informed, *have sent to the said countess a*
 “ *copy of the last letters which I have written to*
 “ *you (a).*” In another letter a little while after-
 wards to the same person, “ I pray you,” she says,
 “ that in order to make the Queen of England
 “ see more clearly *the falsity of mine honourable*
 “ *hostess,* you find means to tell her betwixt you
 “ and her privately, and drawing (if possible) a
 “ promise from her not to reveal it or call it ever
 “ in question, That nothing has ever alienated

(a) Histoire d'Elisabeth Reine d'Angleterre, &c. Par
 Mademoiselle de Keralio, &c. à Paris, v. 361—363, the letter
 at full length, taken from Bibl. Harl. No. 1582, fol. 311.
 Papiers de M. de Breguigny. All the letters of Mary's to
 Mauvissiere that are in this register, says the author, “ sont
 “ de la main de Secrétaire de Mauvissiere Castelnau,” who
 appears from the fact above to have copied his master's let-
 ters, and then to have sent them to Walsingham. Such a
 deep scene of private villainy, was carried on by this minister
 of Elizabeth's !

“ her

"her so much from me to the saying the above
"of me, as the vain hope conceived by her to
"make her [Elizabeth's] crown fall on the head
"of Arabella, her grand-daughter.—And that it
"was not possible; without such an imagination,
"of making one of her race Queen, for the said
"Countess to have been ever diverted from me,
"being so strongly attached to me without re-
"serve of any duty and any respect."—She then
mentions a couple of anecdotes, concerning the
Countess's "behaviour to" her. "I do not de-
"fire at present," she adds, "to produce any but
"these two little patterns; by which the Queen
"of England may judge, what the whole and
"entire piece can be, woven and finished all the
"years that have passed between the Countess
"and me.—It will suffice for you to say to the
"Queen of England, that you have understood
"these particulars above concerning the said
"lady, and that you think assuredly, if it shall
"please her by some good way to require friend-
"ship from me the actions of the said Countess,
"I shall be able to discover to her some things
"of much greater importance. But principally
"gain this point, if possible, that she keep se-
"cret, without ever naming you; you, who
"have been induced to reveal such a thing to
"her, from the affection which you bear, to the
"welfare of her government, and in order that
"she may know of a truth, what trust she ought
"to have in the said Countess, of whom
"you think that with a present of two thou-

I "said

"sand crowns I could gain her as much as I
"pleased (a)."

For such a woman, so "detestable a calumni-
"ator," and so much in league with Walsingham
and Leicester, Mary had no reason to keep any
reserves to Elizabeth. She had also pressing rea-
sons of her own, to open her heart to Elizabeth.
She found herself ready to be removed, through
the calumnies of the Countess, out of the care of
the Earl. She was to be put into the hands of the
Earl of Huntingdon. "The partisans of my
"good neighbour the Earl of Huntingdon," she
says in her second letter above, "I much fear,
"will not ever permit any species of friendship
"between us, because that then they will have
"the means of strength and power to ruin us;
"which, as I believe, is their true design (b)."
To prevent this, if possible, and so to prevent
what she foresaw, the murder of herself; she en-
deavoured to destroy the credit of the woman, by
whose insinuations she considered the removal to
be meditated, at this moment. She therefore in-
sinuated to Elizabeth by Mauvissiere, as we see
above, that the Countess had views upon the
crown for her grand-daughter. She also insin-
uated in a part of the said letter, of which I have
given no extract above, That the Countess had
voluntarily offered to her, always and whenever
Mary's life should be in danger, or she should

(a) Kerlio, v. 375—377, the letter at full length, from
the Harleian Library too, No. 1582, fol. 313.

(b) Kerlio, v. 375.

wish to remove from thence, she (the Countess) would furnish her with the means of escaping, and, being a woman, she should easily avoid all danger and punishment; and that she assured her, her son Charles resided in London expressly for her service, and to apprize her of all that passed at court, even keeping two strong good horses continually and purposedly, to advertise her with all speed of the death of Elizabeth, who was then ill (*a*). Mauvissiere executed his commission. Elizabeth requested to have the communication from herself, and upon paper. Mary therefore stepped forward to grant her request; to tell her all the conversation of the Countess, concerning the private life of Elizabeth, with a free explicitness; so to soften the marble heart of the Queen at last, by her openness; to make way for a personal conference with her, concerning some points of greater consequence, that she promised and yet reserved; to terminate her long imprisonment, and avert her intended murder. And indeed every generous reader must be sensibly touched, with the view of Mary here; "in an afflicted state of body and health," as she mournfully told Elizabeth in a letter of 1582 (*b*); or, more circum-

(*a*) Keralio, v. 375—376.

(*b*) Camden, Orig. i. 336. Transl. 279. In May 1581 she writes as mournfully, and more particularly, in another letter to Mauvissiere. She desires him to require from Elizabeth, permission to have "un Coche ou une Litiere" for taking the air; because she is become so feeble and weak, principally in her legs, that she is not able, though she is better than she

circumstantially in itself, and more appositely to her present case, lying "in her bed," as her keeper Paulet wrote in September 1586, "troubled after her old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands (*a*);" now writing to Elizabeth "from her bed," now "forcing her" rheumatic "arm to write," and equally "forcing" her mind into an in-attention to *all* "her pains;" in order "to satisfy" Elizabeth's wishes for the intelligence, to "obey" Elizabeth's requisitions concerning it, and to play the last and final stake probably, for her own deliverance from the fangs of this female CROCODILE, who stood over her at the instant with expanded jaws, ready to devour her immediately, and yet pretended to be wailing in tears over her, all the time.

The contents of this letter, therefore, rest not upon the authority of Mary. She was only the conveyancer of them. She conveyed them, as she expressly tells us, "pretty nearly in the very terms," in which they were delivered to her. All centers upon the credit of the deliverer herself, Lady Shrewsbury. Nor can Mary's pronounced disbelief of them, and Mary's intimated ill-humour in the Countess, and ill-will to Elizabeth particularly, destroy the authority of them.

has been for six months before, *to walk a hundred steps*, "*de faire cent pas a pied*." And she additionally informs him, that ever since Easter she has been constrained, to be carried out by her servants in a chair (Jebb, ii. 519).

(*a*) Robertson, ii. 472—473.

Mary's

Mary's amiable credulity of spirit, made her a very incompetent judge in such a case as this. She originally believed, that Elizabeth would receive her friendlily, and assist her heartily, on her flying into England. She next believed, that Elizabeth would restore her to her crown, even *after* the treatment which Elizabeth had already shewn her; when the conference was opened at York. And her disbelief of Lady Shrewsbury's anecdotes concerning Elizabeth, only serves to shew us again in her, a heart still incapable of such outrages of conduct, and a spirit still actuated with a weak generosity of faith.

Nor can any ill-humour in Lady Shrewsbury, or any ill-will that she had conceived against Elizabeth, destroy the credit of the original relator. She might be ill-tempered. She might be prejudiced also. But this cannot supersede her testimony. She must have prejudices, if she believed only half of what she said to be true. These might unite with her natural temper, to make her tell such secrets. But they cannot prove them false. Indeed the particular ill-will is the natural consequence of their very truth. And, as to the general ill-humour, in what court is the temper of a witness allowed to be pleaded, in order to set aside his evidence? She was in fact a woman sagacious and judicious; eminently qualified to see, to remember, and to make her own use of, the striking qualities of the persons about her (*a*).
She

(*a*) "In this third widowhood," says Kennet of her, "she
" had

She was also a lady of high rank and quality, in the court of Elizabeth. She there saw the procedure of the Queen herself. She there heard of it from others too. She reported to Mary, what she heard and saw. She reported both, with the authenticating additions of some names, and of many circumstances, at length. And therefore to reject her intimations as apocryphal, would be to shut the ear to argument, to dash evidence aside because it is evidence against Elizabeth, and to exclaim in all the obstinacy of *convicted* folly, "Non persuadebis etiam si persuadebis." The lewdness of Elizabeth sufficiently appears from other testimony. This only carries on the lewdness, and exhibits it in a more full and diversified manner.

For that reason, I shall now give it to my reader, like the letters before, broken properly into numbered paragraphs; first in the original, and afterwards in a translation, each running pa-

"had not survived her charms of wit and beauty; by which she captivated the then greatest subject of the realm, George Earl of Shrewsbury; whom she brought to terms of the greatest honour and advantage to herself and children.—" On Nov. 18, 1509 [1590] she was a fourth time left, and to death continued, a widow. A change of conditions, that perhaps never fell to any one woman, to be four times a creditable and happy wife; to rise by every husband into greater wealth and higher honours: to have an unanimous issue by one husband only; to have all those children live, and all, by her advice, be honourably and creditably disposed of in her life-time; and, after all, to live seventeen years a widow, in absolute power and plenty." Collins, i. 296—297.

rallel

rallel with the other in every page. To both I shall add several notes, for the fuller authentication of their notices. I shall then draw out historically some of the most distinguished parts of it, and exhibit them with their proper accompaniments, to the more particular inspection of my reader. And I shall thus set Elizabeth with truth, in that very point of *lurid light*; in which she has so vainly attempted by falsehoods, to set Mary (*a*).

(*a*) An *abstract* of this letter has been published already by Mr. Hume, v. 286—287; and the *original* by Dr. Stuart, ii. 209—211, and from him by Keralio, v. 356—360. But no *translation* of it has been yet presented to the publick. Nor has the original itself been stated correctly.

— III. —

A LETTER FROM QUEEN MARY TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH. (1)

I.—“ Suivant ce que je vous ay promis et au-
 “ vez depuis desire, je vous declare ores, qu’il
 “ aueques regret que telles choses soyent amme-
 “ nees en question, mays tres sincerement et sans
 “ aucune passion, dont j’apelle mon Dieu a tes-
 “ moing, que la Comtesse de Schreusbury madi-
 “ de vous ce qui suit, as plus pres de ces termes :
 “ la plus part de quoy je proteste avoir respondu,
 “ reprenant la ditte Dame de

I.—“ According to what I have promised you
 “ and you have desired, I declare to you now,
 “ that with regret that such things have been
 “ brought into question, but very sincerely and
 “ without any passion, for which I appeal to my
 “ God as witness, that the Countess of Shrews-
 “ bury told me what follows concerning you,
 “ pretty nearly in these terms : to the most part
 “ of which I protest to have replied, reprehend-
 “ ing the said lady for

(1) Murdin, 558—560.

“ croire ou parler si lisentieusement de vous,
 “ comme chose, que je ne croyois point, ni croy
 “ a present; congnoissant le naturel de la Comp-
 “ tesse, et de quel esprit elle estoit alors poulsee
 “ contre vous.”

II.—“ Premièrement, qu’ un, auquel elle disoit
 “ que vous aviez fait promesse de mariage devant
 “ une dame de vostre chambre, avoit couché in-
 “ finies foys avecques vous, avec toute la licence
 “ et privaulte qui se peut user entre mari et fem-
 “ me; mais qu’ indubitablement vous n’estiez pas
 “ comme les aultres femmes, et pour ce respect
 “ cestoit folle a tous ceulx, qui affectoient vostre
 “ mariage avec Monsieur le Duc d’Anjou, d’
 “ aultant qu’ il ne ce pourroit accomplir; et que

“ believing or talking so freely of you; as matter,
 “ that I did not believe, and do not believe at
 “ present, knowing the nature of the Countess,
 “ and with what spirit she was then egged on
 “ against you.”

II.—“ First, that one, to whom she said you
 “ had made a promise of marriage before a lady
 “ of your bed-chamber, had lain down infinite
 “ times with you, with all the freedom and fami-
 “ liarity that can be used betwixt a husband and
 “ wife; but that undoubtedly you was not as other
 “ women are, and for this reason it was folly in all
 “ those, who favoured your marriage with Monsieur
 “ the Duke of Anjou, because it could never be
 “ consummated; and that you would not ever give
 “ you

“ vous ne vouldriez jamays perdu [perdre] la
 “ liberte de vous fayre fayre l’amour, et auvoir
 “ vostre plefir tousjours auueques nouveaux amou-
 “ reulx : regretant ce, disoit elle, que l’ous [vous]
 “ ne vous contentiez de Maister Haton, et un
 “ aultre de ce royaulme; mays que, par l’honneur
 “ du pays, il luy faschoit de plus, que vous aviez
 “ non seullement engasge vostre honneur auueques
 “ un estrangier nomme Simier, l’ a lant [alant]
 “ trouver de nuit en la chambre d’une dame, que
 “ la dicte Comtesse blasmoit fort a ceste occasion
 “ la, ou vous le baifiez, et usiez auvec luy de
 “ diverses privaultes deshonnestes,

“ up the liberty, of bespeaking love, and of having
 “ your pleasure continually with new lovers: re-
 “ gretting this, said she, that you would not be
 “ content with Master Haton, and one other of
 “ this realm; but that, for the honour of the
 “ country, she was most grieved, that you not
 “ only had pawned your honour with a stranger of
 “ the name of Simier, going to find him by night
 “ in the chamber of a lady, whom the said Coun-
 “ tesse blamed greatly for this business, where you
 “ kissed him, and used divers dishonest familiari-
 “ ties with him,

“ mays aussi luy revelliez les segretz du royaulme,
 “ trahissant vos propres conseillers auvesques luy.”

“ but also revealed the secrets of the realm to him,
 “ betraying to him your own counsellors.”

III.—“ Que

III.—“ Que vous estiez desportez de la mesme dissolution, avec le Duc son Maystre, qui vous avoit este trouver une nuit a la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous laviez rancontre avec vostre seule chemise et manteau de nuit ; et que par apres vous laviez laisse entrer ; et qu’il demeura avecques vous pres de troys heures.”

IV.—“ Quant au dict Haton, que vous le couriez a force, faysant si publiquement paroître l’amour que luy portiez, que luy mesmes estoit contreint a s’en retirer ; et que vous donnastes un soufflet a Kiligreu, pour ne vous avoir ramene le dict Haton, que vous aviez envoiay rappeler par luy, s’estant desparti en chollere d’aveques vous, pour quelques injures que luy aviez dittes,

III.—“ That you behaved with the same dissoluteness, towards the Duke his Master, who had been to find you one night at the door of your bed-chamber, where you met him with only your shift and bed-gown on ; and that afterwards you suffered him to enter ; and that he stayed with you nearly three hours.”

IV.—“ As to the said Haton, that you ran him down by violence, making the love which you bore him appear so publick, that he himself was constrained to retire from you ; and that you gave Kiligreu a box on the ear, because he had not brought back the said Haton, whom you had sent him to recall, and who had departed from you in wrath, for some reproaches which

6

“ pour

“ pour certains boutons 'dor qu'il [qu'il] auvoit
 “ sur son habit.”

V.—“ Qu' elle auvoit travaille de fayre epouser
 “ au dit Haton la feu Comteſſe de Lenox ſa fille
 “ (1); mays que, de creinte de vous, il ne oſoit
 “ entendre [entreprendre];

“ you had uttered to him, on account of certain
 “ buttons of gold which he had upon his clothes.”

V.—“ That ſhe had laboured to make a
 “ match, between the ſaid Haton and the late
 “ Counteſs of Lenox her daughter (1); but, for
 “ fear of you, durſt not enterprize it :”

“ que meſmes le comte d'Oxford noſoit ce rap-
 “ pointer aueques ſa femme, de peur de perdre
 “ la faveur, qu' il eſperoit recevoir par vous
 “ fayre l'amour *.”

“ that even the Earl of Oxford durſt not re-accord
 “ with his wife, for fear of loſing the favour, which
 “ he hoped to receive by making love to you *.”

(1) This was her ſecond daughter by Sir William Caven-
 diſh, a former huſband; who was married to Charles Stuart,
 Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Mary's Lord Darnly
 (Collins, i. 296). She was now dead, when this letter was
 written.

* I ſhould not have underſtood this paſſage, if it had not
 been for the following notice in Cecil's own diary: “ 1576,
 “ March 29,” ſays Cecil, who often puts in poſterior events
 under a date for a prior one, “ the Erle of Oxford arryved,
 “ being returned out of Italy; he was entyced by certen lewd
 “ perſons to be a *ſtranger to his wiſſ*” (Murdin, 778).

VI.—“ Que

VI.—“ Que vous estiez prodigue envers toutes
 “ telles gens, et ceulx qui se mesloient de telles
 “ mesnees; comme a un de vostre chambre,
 “ Gorge, auquel vous auviez donne troys centz
 “ ponds de rante *, pour vous auvoir apporte les
 “ nouvelles du retour de Halton [Haton]: qu’ a
 “ toutz aultres vous estiez fort ingrate [et] chifche;
 “ et qu’il ni avoit que troys ou quatre en vostre
 “ royaulme, a qui vous ayez jamays faict bien.”

VII.—“ Me conseillant, en riant extremement,
 “ mettre mon filz sur les rancs pour vous fayre
 “ l’amours [amour]; comme chose, qui me servi-
 “ roit grandement, et mettroit Monsieur le Duc

VI.—“ That you was profuse to all such per-
 “ sons, and those who meddled with such prac-
 “ tices; as to one Gorge of your bed-chamber,
 “ to whom you had given three hundred pounds in
 “ rents *, because he had brought you the news
 “ of Haton’s return: that to all others you was
 “ very ungrateful and niggardly; and that there
 “ were but three or four persons in your realm, to
 “ whom you had ever been bountiful.”

VII.—“ Counselling me, while she laughed ex-
 “ tremely, to enter my son in the lists for making
 “ love to you; as a matter, that would greatly
 “ serve me, and would dislodge Monsieur the

* Sir Thomas Gorge, to whom she afterwards gave “ the
 “ keeping of Gilford Park” (Murdin, 801).

“ hors de quartier, qui me seroit tres prejudiciable
 “ si il i continuoit :

“ Duke from his quarters, who would prove very
 “ prejudicial to me, if he continued there :

“ et lui repliquant, que cela seroit pris pour une
 “ vraye moquerie, elle me respondit, que vous
 “ estiez si vayne et en si bonne opinion de vostre
 “ beaute, comme si vous estiez quelque deesse du
 “ ciel; qu'elle prendroit sur la teste, de le vous
 “ sayre croire facilement, et entretiendrait [entre-
 “ tiendrez] mons filz en ceste humeur *.”

“ and on my replying, that this would be taken for
 “ an absolute mockery, she answered me, that you
 “ was as vain, and had as good an opinion of your
 “ beauty, as if you were some goddess of the
 “ sky; that she would take it upon her life, she
 “ could easily make you believe it, and you would
 “ receive my son in this light *.”

VIII.—“ Que

* This hint, however astonishing, proved true in the event. In January 1586, Morgan, who was (as Mary very justly says) “ the chiefe, and almost the onely, finder out and director
 “ of all the intercourse of intelligence, I have had these many
 “ years past,” tells her from France; that “ this court is in-
 “ formed, that the King your sonne *should marrye the Queen of*
 “ *England*; God forbid, he should be so matched.” And
 Monsi. Fontenay says in the same year, that “ sieur Robert
 “ Melvil, et aultres conseillers d'estat, m'ont asseuré qu'il faict
 “ traiter par Gray,” who was gained over to Elizabeth,
 “ *son mariage avec la Royne d'Angleterre*” (Murdin, 514,
 468,

VIII.—“ Que vous preniez si grand plesir en
 “ flateries hors de toute rayson, que l’on vous disoit,
 “ comme de dire, qu’on ne vous osoit par foys
 “ regarder a plain, d’aautant que vostre face luy-
 “ soit comme le soleill ; qu’elle, et tous les aultres
 “ dames de la court, estoins contreintes d’en user ;
 “ et qu’en son dernier voyage vers vous, elle et
 “ la feu Comtesse de Lenox, parlant a vous, n’o-
 “ soient s’entreregarder l’une et l’autre, de peur
 “ de s’eclater de rire des cassades quelle vous
 “ donnoint [donnoit] ; me priant a son retour
 “ de tancer sa fille, quelle n’avoit jamais sceu
 “ persuader de faire le mesme : et, quant a sa

VIII.—“ That you took so great a pleasure in
 “ flatteries beyond all reason, that it had been said
 “ to you expressly, that there was no venturing at
 “ times to look full upon you, because your face
 “ shone like the sun ; that she, and other ladies of
 “ the court, were constrained to use this language ;
 “ and that, in her last journey to you, she and the
 “ late Countess of Lenox, while she was speaking
 “ to you, durst not look the one towards the other,
 “ for fear of bursting out into a laugh, at the flames
 “ which she was putting upon you ; praying me at
 “ her return, to rebuke her daughter, whom she
 “ could not ever persuade to do the same : and, as

468, and 550). In 1586, James was *twenty*, and Elizabeth *fifty-one*. So fully is this very improbable intimation in the letter, confirmed by the voice of facts afterwards ! And so strongly does this confirmation tend, to prove the general justness of the other intimations !

“ fille

“ fille Talbot *, elle s'affuroit qu'elle ne faudroit
 “ jamais de vous rire au nez.”

“ to her daughter Talbot *, she was sure she could
 “ not ever refrain from laughing in your face.”

IX —“ La dict.dame Talbot, lors quelle vous
 “ alla fayre la reverance, et donne [donner] le ser-
 “ ment, comme l'une de voz servantes, a son retour
 “ immediatement, me le comtant comme une chose
 “ fayte en moquerie, me pria de l'accepter pareill,
 “ mays plus reffent et entier vers moy ; du quel
 “ je feiz long tems refus ; mays a la fin, a force de
 “ larmes, je la faiffay faire: disant quelle ne voul-
 “ droit, pour chose du mond, estre en vostre ser-
 “ vice pres de vostre personne, d'autant quelle au-
 “ roit peur que, quand seriez en cholere, ne luy

IX.—“ The said lady, Talbot, when she went
 “ to perform the reverence, and to take the oath to
 “ you, as one of your servants, immediately on her
 “ return relating the act to me [Mary], as an act
 “ done in mockery, begged me to accept the like,
 “ but more felt and full towards me ; which I re-
 “ fused a long time ; but at last, constrained by
 “ her tears, I suffered her to do it : she saying,
 “ that she would not, for any thing in the world,
 “ be in your service near your person, because she
 “ should be in fear, that when you was in wrath,

* This was her third daughter, Mary, married to Gilbert Talbot, eldest son to her present husband (Collins, i. 296).

“ fiffies comme a fa coufine Skedmur; a qui vous
 “ auvies rompu fon doibt, faciant a croire a ceulx
 “ de la court, que cefloit un chandelier qui estoit
 “ tombe deffubz; et qu’ a une aultre vos servant
 “ a talle [table], auvies donne un grand coup de
 “ coufteau, fur la mayn.”

X.—“ Et en un mot, pour ces derniers pointz
 “ et communs petitz raportz, croyez que vous
 “ eftiez jouet et contrefaicté par elles, comme en
 “ commédie entre mes fammes mefmes; ce qu’
 “ apercevant, je vous jure, que je defendis a mes
 “ fammes ne ce plus mefler.”

XI.—“ Davantafge, la dicte Comteffe ma au-
 “ trefoys

“ you would do to her as you did to her coufin
 “ Skedmur; one of whose fingers you broke, and
 “ made thofe of the court believe, that it was
 “ broken by a chandelier falling down from
 “ above; and that you gave another lady, as ſhe
 “ was waiting upon you at table, a great blow with
 “ a knife upon the hand.”

XI.—“ And in a word, becaufe of thefe laſt
 “ points, and common petty reports, you may be-
 “ lieve that you was acted and reprefented by my
 “ women, as in a comedy among themſelves; and,
 “ finding it out, I ſwear to you, that I forbad my
 “ women from meddling in ſuch work any more.”

XI.—“ Further, the ſaid Counteſs at another
 “ time

K

“ adver-

" advertie, que vous voulliez appointer Rolson *
 " *pour me fayre l'amour, et essayer de me deshonore:*
 " *soyt in effect ou par mauvais bruit; de quoy I*
 " AVOYT INSTRUCTIONS DE VOSTRE BOUSCH
 " PROPRE: que Ruxby * veint ici, il i a enviro

" apprized me, that you would fain have appoint
 " Rolson * *to make love to me, and try to dishono*
 " *me, either in fact or by evil report; for which I*
 " HAD INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOUR OWN MOUTH
 " that Ruxby * came here about eight years ag

" VI

* Who this Rolson (or perhaps Rolston) was, I know not. Such a wretch, indeed, may well be suffered to sink unknown in his own infamy. But Ruxby, I doubt not, is the very man who is thus mentioned by Melvill, in 1566. Elizabeth complained to Mary, he says, with one of her usual back-stroke of policy, "against one Mr. Ruxbie, who was harboured in Scotland, being a rebel and a papist;" yet "this Ruxbie was *sent in hither*" by the very minister of Elizabeth; or, as the truth really was, he was *won over* by that minister after he had gone of his own accord to Edinborough (Keith, 338); "*to essay what he could draw out of her Majesty [Mary], to give advertisement thereof to Secretary Cecil*" (p. 68—69). This fact is too well authenticated by collateral testimonies in Keith, 338, his Appendix, 169, and Haynes, 445—447; to be overset by a bold falsehood, which Melvill has had the effrontery to insert into his history of it. Ruxby, he tells us, "addressed himself unto the Queen's Majesty [Mary] *by the Bishop of Ross*, who was a Catholick; the said Bishop desiring "her Majesty to be secret" (p. 68—69): when Ruxby himself assures us, that on his arrival at Edinborough he *sent for this very historian himself*, that he gave *this very historian* a letter from one Lassels to the Queen, and that the night afterward *this very historian* introduced him to the Queen (Haynes, 446). This extraordinary perversion of the truth, which was first observed by Goodall (Preface, xxii—xxv), was evidently made

“ VIII ans, pour *atempter a ma vie* ; ayant PARLE

“ to *make an attempt upon my life* ; having TALKED

made by Melvill, in order to throw off from himself the disgrace of having introduced this English traitor to Mary, and to arrogate to his brother the honour of having detected him. For detected he was, though in all probability *not* by the brother of him who introduced him. He was detected, not (as Melvill says, p. 70) *before* June the 19th and the Queen's delivery, but (as Ruxby says himself, Haynes, 447) *after* Killigrew's arrival at Edinborough, who arrived not till the *middle* of July (Keith, App. 169). See also a letter of his, Keith, Hist. 338, dated July 2d, 1566. He was detected *before* he had time, to convey any of his secret papers to the chambers of Killigrew (Haynes, 447) ; and not, as Melvill falsely adds again, *after* he had sent many letters of intelligence into England (p. 71 and 74). Then he “ fell immediately upon his knees, granting himself worthy of a thousand deaths, humbly craving pardon ” (Melvill, 69). Yet he was not put to death. He was only sent a prisoner to the castle of Spynie in Murray (Haynes, 447). Mary thus enabled him on his escape out of prison, to attempt the still higher villainy of the text, against her. Nor was it long, before he escaped. He was a prisoner, he says himself, only “ a yere and three quarters ” (Haynes, 447). By that time, Mary had been thrown into a prison herself ; and rebellion, in the form of Murray, was perking proudly on her throne. Then Ruxby was not to be overlooked by those, whom he had been endeavouring to serve before. He had been introduced to Mary, in order to know her secrets and to betray them ; by that *James Melvill*, who united with the rebels immediately (p. 85). He carried on his short-lived perfidies afterward, in concert with *Andrew Carr* (Keith, App. 169) ; that very man, who had been one of the most savage of all Rizzio's murderers before (see p. 76 of this volume). And these two facts unite with his release by Murray, to show what a tool he was originally, in the hands of Elizabeth and the rebels : and how proper an instrument in her and their hands, for the present villainy.

"A VOUS MESMES, qui luy auviez dit, quil fit
 "ce a QUE WALSINGHAM LUY COMMENDE-
 "ROIT ET DIRIGEROIT *."

"WITH YOU YOURSELF, who had told him, that
 "it was the business to which WALSINGHAM
 "WOULD RECOMMEND AND DIRECT HIM *."

XII.—

* This very striking addition to the brutal and murderous part of Elizabeth's character, is wonderfully confirmed in general by the evidence of history. Mary, says Camden in 1584, "heard that she was, through the crafty contrivance of *some*, to be removed from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was a downright honest man, and favoured not THEIR ATTEMPTS; and committed to new keepers." These attempts are also noticed by Mary herself, in a letter of 1582 to Elizabeth; and declared to be attempts upon her *life*, made by *some* of Elizabeth's *privy-counsellors* (No. xvii). "Accordingly," as Camden adds, "she was removed from the Earl of Shrewsbury,—and committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury——. For the Earl of Shrewsbury had kept her for fifteen years, with such watchfulness and circumspection, that he had PREVENTED ALL POSSIBLE WAYS OF ATTEMPTING ANY THING, either for her or AGAINST HER. But, NOW,—LEICESTER PRUDENTLY SENT CERTAIN CUT-THROAT MURDERERS, AS SOME REPORT, TO TAKE AWAY HER LIFE. But Drury, being a sincere honest man, and detesting from his heart so foul a deed, denied them access to her" (Transf. 303—304, Original. 363—364). This sufficiently corroborates the narrative of Lady Shrewsbury, here. Her's is the particular detail, which Camden's is only the abstract. Both exhibit Elizabeth in all the flaming colours, of an

Ate, hot from Hell.

Walsingham, too, is thus spoken of by Mary herself in her trial in 1586: "that she was afraid this," the countess

XII.—“Quant la dicte Comtesse poursuivoit le
 “ mariage de son filz Charles *, avecques une des
 “ niepees du milord Paget; et que, daultre part,
 “ vous voulliez l'avoir par pure et absolue auctho-
 “ rite, pour un des Knoles, pour ce quil estoit
 “ vostre parent; elle crioit fort contre vous, et
 “ disoit que cestoit une vraye tyrannie, voulant a
 “ vostre fantasie enlever toutes les heritieres du
 “ pays; et que vous aviez indignement use le dit
 “ Paget par parolles injurieuses; mais qu'enfin la
 “ noblesse de ce royaume ne le vous souffrisoit pas

“ XII.—“ When the said Countess prosecuted
 “ the marriage of her son Charles *, with one of
 “ the nieces of my Lord Paget; and when you,
 “ on the other hand, wanted to have her by pure
 “ and absolute authority, for one of the Knoles,
 “ because he was your relation; she exclaimed
 “ against you, and said that it was an actual ty-
 “ ranny, in wanting to carry off at your fancy all
 “ the heiresses in the land; and that you had
 “ used the said Paget with indignity, by abusive
 “ words; but that at last the nobles of this realm
 “ would not suffer this from you, if you ad-

of letters in her name, “ was done by WALSINGHAM, who
 “ (as she heard) HAD PRACTISED BOTH AGAINST HER LIFE
 “ and her son's” (Camden, Transf. 355, Orig. i. 424). And
 the historical confirmation of these private anecdotes, in a
 point of all others that presses *most* upon the reputation of
 Elizabeth, lends a powerful and decisive credit to them.

* Her third son by Sir William Cavendish, mentioned in
 one of the two letters above.

"mesmement, si vous adressiez a 'telz autres,
"quelle connoissoit bien *."

"dressed yourself to some other ladies, whom she
"knew well *."

XIII.—"Il y a environ quatre ou cinq ans, que
"vous estant malade, et moy aussi au mesme
"temps; elle me dit, que vostre mal provenoit *de*
"*la closture d'une fistulle, que vous aviez dans une*
"*jambe*†; et que sans doubte, venant a perdrevoz.

XIII.—"About four or five years ago, when
"you was sick, and I also at the same time; she
"says to me, that your sickness proceeded from *the*
"*closing up of an ulcer, which you had in one leg*†;

* Thomas Lord Paget, who succeeded his brother Henry in 1569 (Collins, iv. 326); whom Camden compliments so much, as to say of his death, that "to the commonwealth of learning he left a sad misse of himself;" and Mr. Charles Arundel with him; "privily fled the land" in 1584, "and withdrew themselves into France: where, with others devoted to the Romish religion, they heavily bewailed and complained amongst themselves, that the Queen was, without any fault or desert of theirs, alienated from them by the subtil artifices of Leicester and Walsingham, that they were unworthily disgraced and ignominiously used," &c. (Camden, Transl. 294 and 439, Orig. i. 353—354 and ii. 19). This forms another corroboration, of the general authenticity of these anecdotes. And there is a remarkable coincidence, in the expressions of the letter and of the history. "Que vous aviez indignement use le dit Paget par parolles injurieuses," is echoed back in, "se contumeliis et ignominiiis indignis affici."

† This is the only writing of the time, I believe, that notices the present circumstance concerning the person of Elizabeth.

“ *moys* *, vous mourriez bien tost ; s’en rejouissant
 “ sur une vayne imagination, quelle a eue de long
 “ temps, par les prediçons d’un nomme Jon
 “ Lenton, et d’un vieulx liuvre, qui prediroit vos-
 “ tre mort par violence, et la succession dune aultre
 “ royne, quelle interpretoit estre moy ; regretant
 “ seulement, que par le dit liuvre il estoit predit,
 “ que la royne, qui vous deubroit succeder, ne
 “ regneroit que trois ans, et mouroit comme vous
 “ par violence ; ce qui estoit represente mesme en
 “ peinture, dans le dit liuvre ; auquel il y avoyt
 “ un dernier feuillet, le contenu duquel elle ne
 “ ma jamais voulu dire. Elle scait elle mesme,

“ and that without doubt, as you was coming to
 “ lose your *menfes* *, you would die soon : pleas-
 “ ing herself upon it, in a vain imagination which
 “ she has had a long time, from the prophecies of
 “ one called John Lenton, and of an old book,
 “ that foretold your death by violence, and the
 “ succeeding of another queen, whom she inter-
 “ preted to be me ; regretting only, that by the
 “ said book it was foretold, that the queen, who
 “ must succeed you, should reign only three
 “ years, and should die like you by violence ;
 “ which was represented even in painting, upon
 “ the said book ; of which there was a conclud-
 “ ing leaf, containing something which she
 “ never chose to tell me. She knows herself,

* Elizabeth was born in September 1533. In 1579, there-
 fore, she was 46. And “ four or five years” more carry us
 to 1583-4.

“ que jay tousjours pris cela pour une propre fol
 “ lie * ; may's elle fesoit bien son compte, destre l
 “ premiere aupres de moy †, et mesinement qu

“ that I [Mary] always took this for pure folly *
 “ but she did lay her account' well, to be t h
 “ principal lady with me †, and also that my so
 “ mo

* All this serves to shew the propriety, of Shakespeare's scenes of the Weir Sisters, &c. ; as adapted to his own age. In the remote period of Macbeth, it might well be presumed the popular faith mounted up into all the wildest extravagance described by him. In his own age it rose, as in *Lady Shrewsbury* here, and in *Lady Derby* (Camden, Transf. 529, Origin. 129), into a belief in the verbal predictions of some reputed prophet then alive, or into a reliance upon the written predictions of some dead one. And Shakespeare might well endeavour to expose such a faith, when we see here, that though it could not lay hold of *Queen Mary*, yet it fastened firmly upon such a woman of the world, as *Lady Shrewsbury*.

† This shows what dependence was made upon Elizabeth dying without issue, and on Mary's succeeding to the throne. We see it also in one of the two letters above ; when the Countess's son Charles is said to have purposedly resided in London, in order to apprise her of all that passed at court ; and particularly to have kept two good and able horses continually ready, in order to bring her the earliest intelligence of the sick Elizabeth's death. Even the very same sentiment as this in the text, is intimated in the same letter ; the Countess there saying, “ que, quand je eusse esté sa propre royne, n'eust sceu “ faire davantage en moy ” (Kerario, v. 375). And had this, not improbable, event actually taken place ; what a different complexion would our history have assumed, from what it wears at present ! Mary would have been carried from a prison to a throne. Her wise conduct in prison, would have been applauded by all. From Tutbury, from Sheffield, and from Chatsworth, she would have been said to have touched,
 with

“ mon filz epouferoit ma niepce Arbela *.”

“ should marry my, niece Arbela *.”

XIV.—“ Pour la fin, je vous jure encores un
“ coup sur ma foy et honneur †, que ce que defubs

XIV.—“ At the close, I swear again all at once
“ upon my faith and honour †, that what is above
“ est

with a gentle and a masterly hand, the springs that actuated all the nation; to have been artfully winding them up to their full height, against the death of her tyrannical cousin; and thus to have fled out of one kingdom, in order to gain a second by her address, and to recover the first by the consequence. So ductile is history in the hands of Man! And so peculiarly does it bend to the force of success, and warp with the warmth of prosperity!

* Charles, Earl of Lenox, had by his wife Elizabeth, and left at his death in 1576 (Douglas's Peerage, 402), only one child, a lady Arabella Stuart, mentioned in one of the letters before.

† Let not the *modern* reader be hurt here and in paragraph x, at a Lady, a Queen, and a Mary *swearing*. To *aver upon faith and honour*, was then called *swearing*, equally with a solemn appeal to GOD; and considered as the same with it. This is plain from the passage immediately before us. “I swear—upon my faith and honour,” she says expressly. She also says she does this “again;” thus referring to the commencement of the letter, where she “appeals to her God as witness.” And thus Shakespeare makes Othello to represent Desdemona, as acting; in a passage that I have often condemned, before I saw this easy explanation of it, as one among many proofs of Shakespeare's inability, to exhibit the delicate graces of female conversation:

She *swore*, In faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange,
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful.

This

" est tres veritable ; et que ce qui conferne vostre
 " honneur, il ne mest jamays tombe en l'entende
 " ment, de vous sayre tort par le reveller ; et qu'
 " ne ce scaura jamays par moy, le tenant pour tr
 " faulx. Si je puis avoir cest heur de parler a vou
 " je vous diray plus particulierement les nom
 " tems, lieux, et aultres sirconstances, pour vo
 " sayre congnoistre la verite, et de cessi, et d'ault
 " choses, que je reserve quant je seray tout a fay
 " assuree de vostre amitie * ; laquelle comme je d

" is very true ; and that such of it as concerns you
 " honour, has never fallen from me with a design
 " to give you pain by revealing it ; and that
 " shall never be known from me, who consider
 " as very false. If I can have that happiness
 " speak with you, I will tell you more particular
 " the names, times, places, and other circum
 " stances, to make you understand the truth, bot
 " of these things, and of others, which I reserve t
 " I shall be wholly assured of your friendship *

This remark, therefore, serves at once to justify Desdemona
 and Queen Mary, and to show what kind of swearing is use
 by both ; not a bold and masculine oath put into the mou
 of Desdemona, such as Elizabeth frequently used, but a mere
 earnest affirmation upon her faith ; and not such an oath use
 by the pen of Mary, but an equally earnest affirmation upon
 her faith and honour, which she considered as the same with
 solemn appeal to God.

* What were these " other " things, which Mary reserve
 for the ear of Elizabeth ? They were, no doubt, those points
 in the Countess of unfaithfulness to Elizabeth and to her trust
 and of views upon the crown, on which Mary dwells so particu
 larly in her two letters to Mauvissiere, but of which she
 hints that she has much more to tell.

" first

“fire plus que jamays, auffi fi je la puis ceste foyz
 “obtenir, vous neustes jamays parente, amy, ny
 “mesmes subyet, plus fidelle et affectionnee que je
 “vous feray. Pour Dieu assurez vous de celle,
 “qui vous veult et peult servir.”

XV.—“De mon lit, forçant mon bras et mes
 “douleurs, pour vous satisfayre et obeir.”

“MARIE. R*.”

“which as I desire more than ever, so if I can ob-
 “tain it this time, you shall not have a relation,
 “friend, or even subject, more faithful and affec-
 “tionate than I shall be to you. For God’s sake
 “rest assured of her, who is willing and able to
 “serve you.”

XV.—“From my bed, forcing my arm and
 “my pains, to satisfy and obey you.”

“MARIE. R*.”

IV.

*This letter is without a date to it, of either time or place. But it was plainly written, *before* Lord Shrewsbury was deprived of the care of Mary in 1584. And it was written only *just a little before*; as the hints preceding from Lady Shrewsbury concerning the *age* of Elizabeth, and the intimation from Mary concerning the “four or five years ago,” concur to show us. It was written, no doubt, just after the two leading letters to Mauvissiere above; one of which is dated the 26th of February 1584, the other the 21st of March 1584, and both from the Earl of Shrewsbury’s house at Sheffield (Kerlio, v. 363 and 378); and in that troublous and distracted part of 1584, in which Paget and Arundel fled abroad; when
 “counterfeit

— IV. —

This letter is replete with intelligence of the most curious kind, for laying open the private life of Elizabeth. It shows us all the hidden and secret parts of her character, as in a magical glass. We have been too long employed in admiring her, for the strength and vigour of her spirit. We now come to have a full view of her. The glare

“counterfeit letters were privily sent in the name of the Queen of Scots and the fugitives, and left in Papists’ houses; when “spies were sent up and down the country, to take notice of the people’s discourse, and lay hold of their words;” and when “reporters of vain and idle stories were admitted and credited” (Camden, Transf. 294, Orig. i. 354). In this wretched state of the nation, when suspicion sat scowling on the throne, when a Briareus-like impiety was stretching out from it her hundred arms of mischief, and all the people were shrinking up into themselves with terror and dismay at the sight; a general association in favour of Elizabeth, “by Leicester’s means,” was formed throughout the whole kingdom. “The Queen of Scots—easily perceived, that her destruction was aimed at by the association.” She was now “weary of her long misery, and yet “fearing harder measures.” She therefore proposed, if her liberty should be granted her, to enter into the association herself. She would also form a defensive league, between Scotland and England; would stay in England awhile, as an hostage for the observance of the league; and, on being permitted to depart, would put in other hostages (Camden, Transf. 300, Orig. i. 360). And then, no doubt, was this letter offered, requested, and written.

light

light indeed, which the more masculine qualities of her soul have so long spread around her, has been much moderated of late. The shade too, which that glare had thrown over the other parts of her character, has been equally brightened up. And we are come to see her at present, in the light of truth and reality; with all her weaknesses opposed to her powers, and with all her wickednesses over-topping her glories.

* Her VANITY, particularly, has been delineated in lively colours by the pencil of Melvill.
His

* Before I enter on this paragraph, let me observe, that Warburton has applied these lines of Shakespeare to Queen Mary; as a kind of counterpart to the lines immediately following, concerning the Vestal Queen of the West.

Thou remember'st,
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song;
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

The mention of the "Dolphin," he thinks, alludes to the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France. The "dulcet and harmonious breath," he apprehends, refers "to her great abilities and learning, which rendered her the most accomplished princess of her age;" and of which "the French writers tell us, that, while she was in that court, she pronounced a Latin oration in the great hall of the Louvre, with so much grace and eloquence, as filled the whole court with admiration." By "the rude sea," he fancies, is meant Scotland, which rose in rebellion while she was in France, but was calmed into peace by her return. And the "stars," he presumes, denote the Earl of Westmoreland, the
Earl

His account is not so familiarly known, as to render the appearance of it improper here. And it is necessary to the introduction of another. "The Queen my mistress," he says of Mary, "had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes; lest otherwise I [i] should certainly, I think, be [be] should be wearied: she being well informed of the Queen's natural temper." This gives us an opening into the physical disposition of Elizabeth which is not given us by any other writing; and shows her not to have been so much a woman of business, as she is universally represented to be. "Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy; the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The Queen," who was now *thirty-one*

Earl of Northumberland, and the Duke of Norfolk; who were ruined by their attachment to her. But all this, ingenious as it is, is too fanciful for sober honesty. One single observation will show it to be so. The play, in which these lines are found, appears too evidently from the adjoining compliment to Elizabeth, to have been written *during her reign*. We have even two *editions* of it in quarto, and both printed in the year 1600, at least *a couple of years before her death*. And Elizabeth, we may be sure from what immediately follows in my text here, would never have suffered such a high-wrought compliment to be paid to Mary, to be placed close to the panegyrick upon herself, and to exceed it considerably; even as considerably, as the power of harmony, which could reduce the wild waves of the sea into peace, and force the stars headlong from their orbits, is above the mere grace of chastity, in the general estimate of the world, and in the special opinion of Elizabeth herself.

“ said she had clothes of every sort ; which *every*
“ *day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed.*
“ One day she had the English weed, another the
“ French, and another the Italian, and so forth.
“ SHE ASKED ME, WHICH OF THEM BECAME
“ HER BEST? I answered, in my judgment the
“ Italian dress; which answer, I found, pleased
“ her well, *for she delighted [afterwards] to show*
“ *her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bon-*
“ *net, as they do in Italy.* Her hair [indeed] was
“ more *reddish* than *yellow*, curled in appearance
“ naturally. SHE DESIRED TO KNOW OF ME,
“ WHAT COLOUR OF HAIR WAS REPUTED BEST,
“ and WHETHER MY QUEEN’S HAIR OR HERS
“ WAS BEST; and WHICH OF THEM TWO WAS
“ FAIREST.” Elizabeth thus overhot two of her
objects, by her eagerness in aiming at three in the
same moment. Not waiting for an answer to her
inquiry concerning hair in general, she added in-
stantly another about Mary’s hair in particular;
and she subjoined a third to both, before either was
answered, concerning the beauty of Mary. So
much was her vanity on the wing, in quest of its
food; and so livelily fluttering was it, from one ex-
pected scene of compliment to another! And she
lost all reply from Melvill, to her two questions
concerning hair; by his naturally replying only,
to the concluding question about beauty. “ I an-
“ swered, the fairness of them both was not their
“ worst faults. But she was EARNEST with me to
“ declare, WHICH OF THEM I JUDGED FAIREST.
“ I said, she was the fairest Queen in England,
“ and mine the fairest Queen in Scotland. YET
“ she

" she appeared EARNEST. I answered, they were
 " both the fairest ladies in their countries; that
 " her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very
 " lovely." And the latter part of this answer indicates, that Elizabeth had a much clearer complexion, than she is generally supposed to have had.

" SHE INQUIRED, WHICH OF THEM WAS OF
 " HIGHEST STATURE? I said, my Queen
 " THEN, saith she, SHE IS TOO HIGH, for I MY
 " SELF AM NEITHER TOO HIGH OR TOO LOW
 " THEN SHE ASKED, WHAT KIND OF EXERCISE
 " SHE USED? I answered, that when I receive
 " my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from
 " a Highland hunting *; that when her more serious
 " affairs permitted, she was taken up with

* Mary's activity of body and spirit, was much delighted with hunting. This appears so early as 1559, when she " riding on hunting" in France, " and following the bar of force, was in her course cast of her gelding by a bough of a tree, and with the suddenness of the fall was not habile to call for helpe. And albeit there dyd followe her diverse gentlemen and ladyes of her chamber; yet three or four of them passed over her, before she was espied, and somme of their horses rode so nere her, as her hood was troden of. As soon as she was reised from the grounde, she spake, and said that she felt no hurt; and herself beganne to set her heare, and dresse up her head, and so returned to the court" (Forbes, i. 290). This equally appears also, so late as July 1586, in a letter of hers to Morgan. " God," she says, " — hath not yett set me so lowe, but that I am able to handle my cros-bowe for killing of a deare, and to gallop after the houndes on horseback; as this afternoone I entend to do within the limittes of this park, and cold otherwere, if it were permitted" (Murdin, 534). Elizabeth herself was fond of more gentle riding, and loved to *amble* on a *sprightly* horse (Forbes, ii. 15).

" reading

“ reading of histories; that sometimes she recre-
 “ ated herself upon the lute and virginals [a trunk-
 “ like kind of harpsichord]. She ASKED, IF SHE
 “ PLAYED WELL? I said, Reasonably for a Queen.
 “ *That same day*, after dinner, my Lord of Huns-
 “ dean *drew* me up to a quiet gallery, *that I might*
 “ *bear some musick*; [and] but he said *he durst not*
 “ *avow it, where I might bear the Queen play upon*
 “ *the virginals*. After I had hearkened awhile, I
 “ took by the tapistry that hung before the door
 “ of the chamber; and seeing her back was to-
 “ wards the door, I entered within the chamber,
 “ and stood a pretty space hearing her play excel-
 “ lently well. But she left off immediately, *as*
 “ *soon as she turned her about and saw me*. She
 “ *appeared* to be surprized to see me, and came
 “ *forward seeming to strike me with her hand*; al-
 “ ledging she used not to play before men, but
 “ when she was solitary to shun melancholy. She
 “ asked, how I came there? I answered, as I was
 “ walking with my lord of Hunsdean, as we past
 “ by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as
 “ *ravished me*; whereby *I was drawn in ere I knew*
 “ *how*: excusing my fault of homeliness [familia-
 “ rity], as being brought up in the court of France,
 “ where such freedom was allowed,” the French
 “ easiness of manners being then as eminent, as it
 “ has since been; “ declaring myself willing to en-
 “ dure what kind of punishment her Majesty should
 “ be pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an
 “ offence. Then she sate down low upon a cu-
 “ shion, and I upon my knees by her; but with
 “ her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay un-

L

“ her

“ der my knee, which at first I refused, but
 “ compelled me to take it. She then called
 “ my lady Strafford out of the next chamber,
 “ the Queen was alone. She INQUIRED, WHE
 “ THER MY QUEEN OR SHE PLAYED BEST?
 “ that, I found myself obliged to give her
 “ praise.” And such a confession as this, at on
 shows us the superiority of Elizabeth to Mary
 musical performances, and confirms, by its imp
 tiality, all the notices concerning Elizabeth befo

“ —Here I took occasion to press earnestly
 “ dispatch; she said, I was weary sooner of h
 “ company, then she was of mine. I told her M
 “ jesty, that though I had no reason of beir
 “ weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called
 “ home. Yet I was *stayed two days longer*, till
 “ might see her DANCE; as I was afterward in
 “ formed. Which being done, she INQUIRE
 “ OF ME, WHETHER SHE OR MY QUEEN DANCE
 “ BEST? I answered, the Queen danced not
 “ high and disposedly, as she did.” And this
 being another compliment paid Elizabeth in pre
 ference to Mary, again serves to confirm the ge
 neral justness of this embassadour’s animadversion
 upon Elizabeth*.

But the affectation and the hypocrisy of vanit
 in Elizabeth, here come forward in a prominen
 manner to the laughing eye of criticism. Just in
 the same spirit; and nearly with the same colour
 ing, has lady Shrewsbury sketched her out in th
 letter above. There we recognize the Elizabeth

* Melvill, 49—51.

of Melvill immediately. There we find, that she, who so wildly imagined herself more handsome and more graceful than even Mary herself, "was as vain, and had as good an opinion of her beauty, as if she were some goddess of the sky." She also, who so grossly extorted flatteries from Melvill at one time, and so freely arrogated them to herself at another, "took so great pleasure in flatteries beyond all reason; that it had been said to her expressly, that there was no venturing at times to look full upon her, because her face shone like the sun;" and that all the "ladies of the court, were constrained to use this language" towards her. And, as Melvill was obviously stifling a violent laugh, all the time he was obliged to flatter her; so Lady Shrewsbury and Lady Lenox, while the former was speaking to her, "durst not look the one at the other, for fear of bursting out into a laugh, at the flams which she was putting upon the Queen *."

But

* Thus, in 1562, the rebel and protestant Prince of Condé in France, to put her in good-humour after he had attempted to make a peace without her, requested she would "*sende him a sharpe of her coullers, which he taketh to be black and white, to weare in this Gode's quarrell and hers,—and to impute him as her souldiour, which he will never sayle to be during his lief.*" This he did "very importunately" (Forbes, ii. 234). "Even when Elizabeth was an old woman," says Mr. Hume (v. 287), "she allowed her courtiers to flatter her, with regard to *her excellent beauties.*" Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. And we have a very lively instance of this, in another *state-paper* of the time. Sir Henry Unton, the Queen's embassadour in France, writes home in a letter of February 1595-6, thus. On the French King's showing the picture

But let us pass from what was merely ridiculous in Elizabeth, to what was HARSH and VIOLENT in her private conduct. She was the petty tyrant of her palace. She was peculiarly prompt, with a more than masculine daringness, to lift her hand in injuries, and to beat and box her courtiers. We have already beheld her advancing up to Melvill, as "seeming to strike him with her hand." This

picture of his mistress, he answered, he says: "if without
 "fence I might speake it, that I had the picture of a far more
 "excellent mistress; and yet did her picture come far short
 "her perfection of beauty.—He beheld it with passion and ad-
 "ration, saying that *I had reason*;—protesting that *he had*
 "*never seene the like*," &c. &c. (Murdin, 718.) This re-
 culous account was sent, in order to flatter Elizabeth. S-
 was then in her SIXTY-THIRD year. Even five years af-
 ward, the famous Edward Coke, acting as her Attorney Ge-
 neral at the trial of Essex in 1601, said that he and his par-
 tisans "went rather into the city than to the court, in rega-
 "the lustre of the Divine Majesty glistered so brightly in t-
 "Royal Majesty, and did so dazzle their eyes, that they durst a-
 "proach no nearer" (Camden, Transf. 614, Orig. ii. 230).
 Yet Elizabeth felt not the palpable imposition put upon her
 by her own rage for flattery, and by the obsequiousness
 those whom she compelled to gratify. She swallowed a-
 the praise that was offered by them, however ample it might
 be, as due to her charms, and as demanded by her sovereign-
 ty. Dr. Stuart therefore cries out against her, with an energy
 of style which is very striking; that, "even when palsied
 "with age," she was "vain of her haggard and cadaverous
 "form," and "sought to allure to her many lovers" (ii. 211).
 And "the affront," says Camden concerning Essex in 1601,
 "he did her in undervaluing her personal shape, inflamed her
 "most of all: for he had given out (to mention nothing else),
 "that, being now an old woman, she was no less crooked and
 "distorted in mind, than she was in body" (Transf. 605, Orig. ii.
 219). This also shows Elizabeth to have become "crooked
 "and distorted" in body, at the latter end of her life.

threat-

threatening posture of offence, indeed, was merely jocular in that instance. But it serves to show the mechanical readiness of her hand, to rise at a sense of impropriety, and to resent it by a blow upon the transgressor. Thus, even so late as 1598, and when she was now SIXTY-FIVE, she presumed to box her favourite Essex. “Quite forgetting himself,” says Camden, “and neglecting his duty, he uncivilly turned his back upon her, as it were in contempt; and gave her a scornfull look. SHE, not enduring such behaviour, GAVE HIM A BOX ON THE EAR, and bade him get him gone and be hanged. He presently laid his hand on his sword; and, the Lord Admirall stepping between, he sware a great oath, that he neither could nor would put up so great an affront and indignity, neither would he have taken it at King Henry the Eighth his hands; and, in a great passion, withdrew himself presently from the court *.” This experienced practiser in the school of boxing therefore, who ventured to exercise the powers of her hand upon so choleric a soldier, may well be expected to be found beating the gentlemen and ladies of her household. She accordingly appears in the letter above, many years before, to have given Henry Killigrew, a gentleman sent on occasional embassies by her †, “A BOX ON THE EAR, because he had not brought back” a person, “whom she had sent him to recall.” But she appears treating Miss Scuda-

* Camden, Transf. 556, Orig. ii. 161.

† Camden, Transf. 82 and 195, and Orig. i. 103 and 238.

more, with a larger share of this brutishness; "on
 " of whose fingers," she actually "broke," and
 then, with a meanness equal to her mischievous-
 ness, "made those of the court believe, that it
 " was broken by a chandelier falling down from
 " above." She even mounted at another time,
 beyond all this sublimity of domestick savageness—
 She found a weapon, that would be more power-
 ful than her naked hand. "She gave another
 " lady, as she was waiting upon her at table, A
 " GREAT BLOW WITH A KNIFE upon her hand."
 And, as such a conduct was sure to make a pecu-
 liar impression upon the ladies in Mary's service,
 since they were equally retained in attendance upon
 a Queen, and were treated so very differently by
theirs; so "because of these—points, and com-
 " mon—reports" of other incidents similar to
 them, Elizabeth was even "acted and repre-
 " sented by the women" of Mary's household,
 "as in a comedy" of the Ferocious Mistress, spor-
 tively exhibited "among themselves*."

But we must now come, to what is the great
 object of this chapter. We must proceed to the
 IMMODESTY of Elizabeth. And the vain, the
 violent Queen must appear in all the loose garb of
 a wanton woman. Her vanity and her violence
 appear still conspicuous even in her very wanton-
 ness.

* Elizabeth's "passionate temper," says Mr. Hume,
 v. 288, may also be proved from *many* lively instances; and
 "it was *not unusual* with her, to beat her maids of honour."
 See *the Sydney papers*, vol. ii. p. 38.

Elizabeth,

* Elizabeth, says Lady Shrewsbury, "*undoubtedly was not as other women are*; and for this reason it was folly in all those, who favoured her marriage with Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, because *it could never be consummated*." The people, says Camden under 1566, when they were

It has been insinuated by both Mr. Hume (v. 287) and Dr. Stuart (ii. 211), that Haynes, 99, affords but too good reasons for suspecting the chastity of Elizabeth, *some years before she ascended the throne*, and when she was only 17 or 18 years of age. However, I must here vindicate her. The main stress of the evidence appealed to against her, lies in this. "She," lady Elizabeth's woman, "saith; at Chelisy, incontinent after he," Lord Admiral Seymour, "was married to the Queene," relict of Henry the VIIIth, "he wold come many mornyngs into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber," which was in his own house at Chelsea (p. 61), "*before she were redy, and sometyme before she did rise*. And, if she were up, he wold bid hir good morrow, and ax how she did, and *strike her upon the bak or on the buttocks famylearly*, and so go forth through [to] his lodgings; and sometyme go through to the maydens, and play with them, and so go forth: and, if she were in hir bed, he *wold put open the curtains*, and bid hir good morrow, and *make as though he wold come at hir*; and she wold go further in the bed, so that he could not come at hir. And one mornyng *he strove to have kissed hir in hir bed*; and this examine was there, and bad him go away for shame." This surely can justify no suspicion of Elizabeth. Her woman was plainly with her all these times, or she could not have deposed to all these facts. At one other time, when Elizabeth heard the admiral coming towards her bedroom, she ran out of bed, hurried into the inner room where her attendants slept, and stayed there till he was gone. And we know too much of the free conversation of gentlemen to ladies then, as exhibited by time's best copyist, Shakespeare; and see too much of their free manners in that age, as transmitted down to the present, at a distance from London, and in the middle orders of life; to suppose the women unchaste, merely because the men were romping.

earnest for Elizabeth's marriage, "curfed Huic
 "the Queen's phyfician, as a diffwader of her
 "marriage, *for I know not what womanifh impo-*
 "*tency* *." "The perils" alfo, as he adds under
 1581, "by conception and child-bearing, ob-
 "jected" to Elizabeth "by the phyficians and
 "her gentlewomen for fome private reafons, did
 "many times run in her mind, and very much
 "deter her from thoughts of marrying †." And
 Elizabeth had fome obftructions from nature,
 which difabled her for the offices of a wife, pre-
 cluded her from the pleasures of a prostitute, and,
 contending with her ftrong defires, raifed fuch a
 ferment and fire within her, as fhe was ever en-
 deavouring, and never able, to extinguiſh.

Thus ſhe had "one" man, "to whom" (lady
 Shrewsbury fays) "Elizabeth had made a promife
 "of marriage, before a lady of her bedchamber;"
 and who "had lain down *infinite times* with her,
 "with all the freedom and familiarity that can be
 "ufed betwixt a hufband and wife." This perfon
 is afterwards called "one of this realm." It is
 LEICESTER, no doubt; whoſe name was ftud-
 iouſly fuppreſſed by the Counteſs, becauſe Leiceſ-

* Camden, Tranſ. 83, Orig. i. 104, "ob neſcio quam mu-
 "liebrem impotentiam."

† Camden, Tranſ. 269, Orig. i. 324, "pericula ex con-
 "ceptione et puerperio, a medicis et muliereculis ex abditis
 "cauſis objecta, quæ ſæpe animo obverfabantur, admodum
 "deterruerunt." This ſhows the bodily infirmity of Eliza-
 beth, to be very different from what it is represented by foreign
 writers. Our own have almoſt unanimouſly neglected to no-
 tice it.

ter had been intriguing to draw her off from her warm attachment to Mary, for some infamous purposes undoubtedly; by holding up to the eye of her ambition an object more alluring, than any which Mary could present; and making her hope for royalty itself, in her grand-daughter Arabella Stuart. "Him," says Melvill before, "I knew "at that time Elizabeth could not want" or do without. His whole court-life indeed was spent, in claiming and challenging (as it were) the marriage of Elizabeth; for which he is asserted by the present tradition at Cumnor near Oxford, to have dreadfully qualified himself at first, by throwing his wife down a pair of stairs there, and breaking her neck with the fall *. We see him expecting the marriage in 1564. We see him still expecting it in 1579. Yet, under the influence of some temporary despair undoubtedly, we find him marrying the widowed Countess of Essex in the interval. But he had still so much hope remaining in his despair, that he carefully kept his marriage a secret to Elizabeth; and his hope so overpowered his despair soon, that he still prosecuted his matrimonial views upon her. He meant probably to make way for them again, at the critical moment; by another murder of his wife. Nor did he lose the peculiar favour of the Queen, even to his death. In 1564, as Camden informs us,

* See also Carte, iii. 416, who also speaks of this tradition, and with some more particularity; as during one part of his life, I think, he resided in the immediate neighbourhood of Cumnor. And see Aubrey's Berkshire, i. 149, still more particularly.

Queen Mary, to whom Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with him, "suspected that she was deceitfully dealt withall, and that Queen Elizabeth propounded this marriage to no other purpose, but to chuse for herself the best of all the suitors" to Mary; "or else *to marry with Leicester the more excusably*, if she, being an absolute Queen, did first consent to the marriage of Leicester —: and Leicester himself, *in hopes of enjoying Queen Elizabeth*, secretly warned Bedford by private letters, that he should not be eager in the matter*." In 1579, when a foreign application for marriage was received very favourably by Elizabeth, "Leicester chafed," says Camden, though he had been actually married some time to the Countess of Essex, "being now quite frustrate of his *long hoped-for marriage*" with Elizabeth †. And at his death in 1588, which "the Queen took much to heart," as Camden adds; "by reason of a certain conjunction and affinity of their minds, and that haply through a hidden conspiracy and consent of their stars, which the Greek astrologers term *synastria*, HE WAS MOST DEAR" to her ‡. Indeed "he was" then "master of the horse, chosen

* Transf. 75, Orig. i. 94.

† Transf. 227, Orig. i. 276. For this marriage to lady Essex, see Transf. 217—218, and 232, Orig. i. 264—265, and 282.

‡ This, from no design in the virtuous author, but from the popular credulity in astrological impertinences, is reducible to that loose strain of dramattick morality, which says that,

— When weak women go astray,
Their stars are more in fault than they.

“ into the orders of St. George and St. Michael,
 “ of the Queen’s privy council, lord steward of
 “ her household; chancellor of the university of
 “ Oxford, justicer of the forests on this side the
 “ river of Trent, lieutenant and captain-general
 “ of the English forces in the low-countries, go-
 “ vernour and captain-general of the united pro-
 “ vinces in the Netherlands, and this year general
 “ of the English army against the Spaniards.
 “ And now, in the very period of his life [he] be-
 “ gan to entertain new hope of honour and power,
 “ by being put into the high authority of *Lieu-*
 “ *tenancy under the Queen in the government of Eng-*
 “ *land and Ireland*; which indeed he had obtained,
 “ *the letters patents being drawn*, had not,” &c *.

But Leicester was not the sole possessor of Eli-
 zabeth. He was obliged to share her favours with
 others. At the very time of the letter above, he
 had “ Haton” for his colleague. This was SIR
 CHRISTOPHER HATTON, of whom Camden speaks
 thus. “ Being young,” he says, “ and of a comely
 “ *zeliness of body and amiable countenance*, he got
 “ *into such favour with the Queen*; that she took
 “ him into her band of 50 gentlemen pensioners,
 “ and afterwards, for his modest sweetness of condi-
 “ tions, into the number of the gentlemen of her
 “ privy chamber; made him captain of her guard,
 “ vice-chamberlain, and one of her privy coun-
 “ cil; and lastly made him lord chancellor.”
 He, as Camden equally remarks in another place
 and under 1587, “ *a man in great favour with*

* Transl. 419, Orig. i. 496.

“ *the Queen*, of a courtier was made Lord Chan-
 cellour; which the great lawyers of England
 “ took very great distaste at —:” while, in reality,
 “ Hatton was advanced to the dignity, by the
 “ cunning court-arts of some,” Leicester proba-
 bly; “ that *by his absence from court*, and the trou-
 “ ble some discharge of so great a place, which
 “ they thought him not to be able to undergo, *his*
 “ *favour with the Queen might flag and grow less**.”
 But lady Shrewsbury shows us plainly *the secret*
reason, that impelled Elizabeth in all his promo-
 tions, that fixed him “ in such great favour with
 “ the Queen,” and raised such an envy in some
 very powerful courtier against him, as oddly con-
 spired with the favour, “ of a courtier” to make
 him a “ chancellor.” “ His comely talness of
 “ body,” and his “ amiable countenance,” won
 so much upon the lewd heart of his mistress; that
 she “ took him into the band of her—gentlemen
 “ pensioners” for *particular* services, and kept him
always as one “ of the gentlemen of her *privy*
 “ chamber.” Indeed he seems for a time at least,
 to have out-rivalled Leicester himself, and to have
 been the *captain* of her band, and the *first* of her
 gentlemen. Elizabeth was even so fond of him,
 that she “ ran him down by violence;” at one
 time “ making the love which she bore him ap-
 “ pear so publick, that he” himself, “ from his
 “ modest sweetness of conditions” undoubtedly,
 “ was constrained to retire from her.” Yet at
 another time he was so proud of her favour, and

* Orig. ii. 43 and i. 475, Transf. 458, and 401.

so happy in her generosity, that he ornamented his fine person with a set of buttons upon his clothes, all of solid gold. With these he appeared at court. Elizabeth saw her own profusion probably, in his extravagance. She was angry with him. She showed her anger, in her usual effusions of reproachful language. He departed in wrath. Elizabeth instantly repented of what she had done. Her anger melted away in her fondness. And she betrayed her weakness very strikingly, in her condescension at first, and in her violence afterwards. She sent Killigrew after him, to fetch him back. But he knew his consequence too well, to return. Killigrew came back without him. And she was so unhinged by the shock of this incident, that she actually gave Killigrew a box on the ear, for the involuntary offence. Such a violently doting old maid of FORTY-FIVE, was Elizabeth then! Yet she was still more so, soon afterwards. Hatton appears to have withdrawn himself from court, for a period. But at last he thought proper to return. And Elizabeth evidenced the sharpness of her grief for his absence, by the greatness of her liberality on his return. She was so overjoyed at the news, that she gave Sir Thomas Gorge, who brought it to her, *three hundred pounds a year in penny-rents*. So readily could she break through all her habits of frugality, *when* an amour was on foot! So profuse and prodigal could she *then* be! Indeed, says lady Shrewsbury, "she was profuse to *all* such persons" as were her gallants; "and" even to "those who meddled in such practices," by carrying the-

fages

sages and bringing news concerning them. If "to all others she was ungrateful and niggardly; And "there were but three or four persons in i "realm," of a different character; "to whom : "had ever been bountiful," so late as the y 1584*."

But Elizabeth "would not be content w "Master Haton, and one other of this realm Two gallants were not sufficient for such a las She had a third. This was SIR WALTER R LEIGH. Lady Shrewsbury, indeed, omits hi Yet she hints at more than she specifies; in decl ing, that Elizabeth "would not ever give up l "liberty of bespeaking love, and of having l "pleasure *continually* with *new* lovers;" and noticing her profuseness "to *all* such person But Sir Walter plainly confesses himself a pa mour to her, in this high-flown letter of love cerning her. "My heart was never broken," says, "till this day, that I hear the Queen g "away *so far off*; whom I have followed *so m "years, with so great love and desire, in so m "journeys, and am now left behind her in a d "prison all alone."* This letter is not dated in self, yet is dated by the publisher in "July 159:

* "The Queen first took notice of him," Hatton, "for "comeliness of his person, and his graceful dancing at a ma court.—So exact was Queen Elizabeth, that she called u "him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; *so los "that she carried him a cordial-broath with her own b "though it could not revive him"* (English Baronettag 183 and 185, edit. 1741). This conduct in Elizabeth t is very much like her behaviour before, in consequence o gold buttons.

But he is clearly mistaken. The circumstance of the *prison* shows him to be so. It should be dated in 1594. *Then*, as Camden assures us, “ Sir Walter Raleigh, captain of the Queen’s guard, “ *having defloured one of the Queen’s maids of honour* (whom he after took to wife), and *being therefore thrown out of favour, and kept several months in prison*, but now at length set at liberty, *though banished the court*;—undertook a voyage to Guiana,—and set sail on the 6th of “ February” 1594-5 *. From this prison then, and in that year, on some removal of the court from London, Raleigh adds in all that extravagance of adulation; which lady Shrewsbury tells us was obliged to be used to Elizabeth, and which is even heightened in him, by his late relation as a paramour to her. “ While she was nire [nigher] “ at hand,” he says, “ that I might *bear* of her “ *once in two or three dayes*; my sorrows were the “ less: but, even now, my heart is cast into the “ depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold “ *her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana,* “ *walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her* “ *fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph*; “ *sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, some-* “ *time singing like an angell, sometime playing like* “ *Orpheus:*” when this Nymph, this Angel, this Goddess, this Venus, and this Diana, was now about—SIXTY-ONE years of age. “ Behold “ the sorrow of this world! *Once amiss* hath be- “ *reaved me of all.*—All those times past, the loves,

* Orig. ii. 93—94, Transf. 499—450.

“ the

“ the *sytbes* [sighs], the *sorrows*, the *desires*, can
 “ they not way [weigh] down *one frail misfortune*?
 “ Cannot *one dropp of gall* be hidden in *so great*
 “ *heaps of sweetness*?—She is gone, in whom I
 “ trusted; and of me hath not one thought of
 “ mercy, nor any respect of *that that was* *.” So
 very *obdurate* was Elizabeth to Raleigh, for “ *de-*
 “ *flouring one of her maids of honour!*” So *sternly*
severe was this Diana of Britain, against the infir-
 mities of the flesh,—in *her own* gallants towards
others! That he should ever *stray* from his *Royal*
 Goddess, and take up with one of the “ *Deæ mi-*
 “ *norum gentium*” about her footstool; might
 well provoke the humours of this Juno and Venus
 in one, this imperious Goddess of old age and
 wrinkles. And Raleigh is *expressly* mentioned in
 another letter of the times, no less than *eight* years
 antecedent to this, and in the life-time of Leicester
 and Hatton, as a well-known gallant of Eliza-
 beth’s. “ Elyther RAWLEY,” says Morgan, that
 active and knowing agent of Mary’s, on March
 31st, 1586, “ the *mignon* [minion] of *her of Eng-*
 “ *land*, is *wearye of her*, or else *she is wearye of*
 “ *him*.” Raleigh, therefore, had been *minion* to
 her many years, at this period; and had been
 long “ *tasting her sweet body*,” in a friendly part-
 nership with Hatton and Leicester. “ For I here
 “ she hath *now* entertayned one BLONT, brother
 “ of the Lord Montjoye; being a yonge gentle-
 “ man, *whose grandmother she may be for her age*
 “ *and his* †.”

* Murdin, 657.

† Ibid. 501.

But Morgan knew not Elizabeth sufficiently; when he supposed she must have discarded Raleigh, because he heard she had taken in Blount. She had not even that virtue of viciousness itself, to be confined to one person in her licentious regards. She took in a new paramour. Yet she did not cast off the old. She continued both in her service. She thus kept a kind of male *seaglio*, that was continually receiving additions, and seldom suffered any diminutions. And she became as great a latitudinarian in her practices of swdness, as she was in her principles of dishonour*.

In 1578, according to Camden, "came Sir SIMIER" to Elizabeth "from the Duke of Anjou," to make a marriage between them; "a *choice courtier*, a man thoroughly versed in *love fancies*, *pleasant conceits*, and *court-dalliances*; accompanied with many of the nobility of France: whom the Queen entertained at Richmond so kindly, that *Leicester chafed*, being now quite frustrate of his long hoped-for marriage†." But, as Camden adds under the next year, "Simier on the other side *left no means un-assayed*, to remove Leicester out of his place and favour with the

* The Blounts particularly seem to have had a large share in the Queen's favours. We have here a *brother* to Lord Montjoy mentioned. Mr. Hume, v. 287, mentions Lord Montjoy himself. And Camden says of Sir Christopher Blount, that one "Waite—had been formerly sent into Holland by Leicester, who was jealous of Blount, to kill him" (Transf. 610, Orig. ii, 225). Orig. i. 276, Transf. 227.

† Orig. i.

"*Queen* ; revealing to her *his marriage with Eff*
 "*his widow* : whereat the *Queen grew into such*
 "*chafe*, that she commanded Leicester not to fl
 "out of the castle of Greenwich, and intended
 "have committed him to the Tower of London
 This is very similar, to her conduct towards R
 leigh before. And the Earl of Oxford, as we s
 in Mary's letter, "durst not re-accord with h
 "wife, for fear of losing the favour which I
 "hoped to receive, by making love to Eliz
 "beth." Simier, as Camden also tells us, "ceas
 "not *amorously* to wooe Queen Elizabeth, in A
 "jou's behalf; and although she stiffly excus
 "herself a long time, yet *he brought her to th*
 "*pass*, that Leicester (who from his heart w
 "against the marriage) and others," probab
 Hatton, Raleigh, Oxford, &c. "spread rumou
 "abroad, that by *love-potions* and *unlawfull an*
 "*he had insinuated into the Queen's affection*, as
 "*induced her to the love of Anjou* *." Elizabeth
 therefore, was so openly fond of him, that "Le
 "cester and others" were impelled to think,

That with some mixtures powerful o'er the blood,
 Or with some dram conjur'd to this effect,
 He wrought upon her.

But lady Shrewsbury enables us to declare, in co
 currence with the hint of *amorousness* from Car
 den before ;

What drugs, what charms,
 What conjuration, and what mighty magick,
 He won her with.

* Orig, i. 282, Transl. 232—233.

“ For the honour of the country,” she says, “ she
 “ was most grieved, that Elizabeth not only *had*
 “ *pawned her honour* with a stranger of the name
 “ of Simier, *going to find him by night in the cham-*
 “ *ber of a lady*;—where Elizabeth *kissed him*, and
 “ *used divers dishonest familiarities with him*; but
 “ also *revealed the secrets of the realm* to him, *be-*
 “ *traying to him her own counsellors.*”

This only is the witchcraft he had us’d.

And this witchcraft was very powerful, in its influence upon Elizabeth. She not merely “ pawn-
 “ ed her honour,” which indeed she had pawned
 so often to these brokers in impurity before, that
 it was hardly worth the redeeming now; but she
 “ revealed the secrets of the realm to him,” and
 the cold-blooded politician dissolved away in the
 warm fires of the licentious lover.

Simier was thus anticipating his master the duke,
 in the possession of Elizabeth’s person. In 1581,
 however, the duke came to London himself, to
 supersede Simier’s too “ amorous” solicitations
 for him, and to urge his addresses in his own per-
 son. Yet he urged them—exactly in Simier’s
 manner. It was the only manner probably, for
 winning Elizabeth. When he came to her, says
 Camden, “ he was received with as great respect,
 “ as he could hope for; and no demonstration
 “ could there be given of honour and affection,
 “ which she did not shew him to the full. In-
 “ much as in the month of November, as soon as
 “ she had with great pomp celebrated her coro-
 “ nation.”

" nation-day ; *the force of modest love, in the midst*
 " *of amorous discourse*, carried her so far, that she
 " *drew off a ring from her finger, and put it upon*
 " *the Duke of Anjou's :*" he being then TWENTY-
 SIX, and she FORTY-EIGHT. " The standers-by
 " took it, that *the marriage was now contracted by*
 " *promise :* amongst whom Aldegond, governour of
 " the city of Antwerp, dispatched letters presently
 " away into the Netherlands" [" the Duke" being
 " now designed governour of the Netherlands by
 " the Estates"], " to signifie as much ; and Ant-
 " werp testified her publick joy thereat, by bone-
 " fires and peals of ordnance. At home, the
 " courtiers minds were diversly affected : some
 " leaped for joy, some were seized with admira-
 " tion, and others were dejected with sorrow.
 " Leicester," her prime gallant, " who had lately
 " plotted and contrived to cross the marriage
 " Hatton, vice-chamberlain," another gallant o-
 " hers ; " and Walsingham," a man, as we have
 " seen before, who trafficked in murder ; " *stornae*
 " *at it*, as if the Queen, the realm, and *religio*
 " were now quite undone. The Queen's gentle
 " women, with whom she used to be familiar, *1 :*
 " mented and bewailed, and did so terrifie and
 " vex her mind ; that she spent the night in doubt
 " and cares without sleep, amongst those weeping
 " and wailing females. The next day she set
 " for the Duke of Anjou ; and they two, all the
 " standers being removed, had a long discou-
 " together. He at length withdrew himself
 " his chamber ; and, *throwing the ring from him*
 " while after took it again ; *taxing the lightnes*

“*women, and the inconstancy of islanders, with two or three biting and smart scoffs **.” This very day of the espousal, and while the spirits of Anjou and Elizabeth were yet elated by it; *then* was it, no doubt, as Lady Shrewsbury tells us in great coincidence with Camden here, that Anjou went “to find Elizabeth by night *at the door of her bed-chamber*, where Elizabeth met him *with only her shift and bedgown on*; and that afterwards *she suffered him to enter*; and that *he stayed with her nearly three hours*.” He then retired, her lamenting gentlewomen came about her, and the Queen passed the rest of the night “in doubts and cares without sleep, amidst those weeping and wailing females.” But most probably she had a more secret cause of grief than they, and indeed

Had that within which passed show.

She was grieving probably at her disappointment, in her young and lusty lover, whom she had just dismissed from her bed-room. The French paramour was no more available, than the English had been before; or the Duke than Simier. The virgin zone was not unloosed still. The “womanish impotency” was still un-removed. And, for *this* reason probably, did she remain sleepless all the night, did she send for Anjou in the morn-

* Orig. i. 323, Transf. 267—268. See also Orig. i. 229, Transf. 188, for Anjou's age. He left England in the beginning of 1582, and died in 1584, after Mary had been taken from Lord Shrewsbury (Orig. i. 329 and 365, Transf. 373 and 394).—

ing, and did she then break off the contracted marriage with him. In cases of a complicated nature, there is generally some secret principle, that actuates and directs the whole; while an ostensible principle is held up, to conceal and cover the other. *This* therefore is known to all, while *that* is perceived only by few. *This* wildly forms the historical faith of the multitude, who are unable to look into characters, to combine circumstances together, and to judge from the result of all; while *that* collects the scattered rays of truth by a kind of critical catoptrick, fees them successively combining into one regular mass of light, and feels them finally co-operating to produce one full blaze of conviction. And Lady Shrewsbury accordingly declares in express terms, that it was “folly in all those who favoured Elizabeth’s marriage with Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, BE-
 “CAUSE IT COULD NEVER BE CONSUM-
 “MATED *.”

* Mr. Hume observes concerning this part of Elizabeth’s character, that “her *extreme fondness* for Leicester, Hatton, “and *Essex*, not to mention *Mountjoy* and *others*,—render her “chastity very suspicious” (v. 287). At my Lord’s [*Essex*’s] coming to “court” from his French expedition, for his conduct in which Elizabeth had censured and recalled him, “whereas he expected nothing but her Majesty’s heavy displeasure;” he found it cleane contrary: for she used him “with that grace and favour, that he stayed a week with her, “passing the time in jollity and feasting: and then with tears in “her eyes she shewed her affection to him; and, for the repaire of “his honour, gave him leave to returne to his charge againe” (Memoirs of Cary Earl of Monmouth, 39—40). And Dr. Stuart tells us more generally and more justly, that, “even “when palsied with age, she was burning with unquenchable “desires” (ii. 211).

Such

Such an immodest, licentious, and dissolute woman was Elizabeth ! Such was the Queen, that wished to have it engraven upon her tomb, " Here lieth Elizabeth, which reigned a virgin, and died a virgin !" Such also was the Queen, who some years afterwards declared, that she was " determined to end her life in virginity ;" whom the publick voice hailed at the time, as " the fair vestal throned by the West," and " the imperial votress" of chastity ; whom the consenting testimonies of two ages, have pronounced the Maiden Queen of Protestantism ; and who had the hypocritical audacity, to censure a Mary for being—what *she was herself*, what Mary was *not*, and what she herself was *in all the foulest extremes of the character*. And, at the close, I cannot but observe with equal indignation and sorrow, That Elizabeth seems to have been in all her capacities of wickedness, a woman exceedingly wicked ; to have united equally the sensual and the malignant corruptions of mankind, in her own person ; to have had them both, in a very violent degree ; to have superadded the highest degree of hypocrisy, to both ; and so to have been a very prodigy of flagitiousness, from all.

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories. This is because the traditional logic of categories is based on the assumption that the categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In other words, a person can be either a subject or an object, but not both, and a relation can be either a subject or an object, but not both. However, in the logic of categories, a person can be both a subject and an object, and a relation can be both a subject and an object. This is because the logic of categories is based on the assumption that the categories are not mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In other words, a person can be both a subject and an object, and a relation can be both a subject and an object. This is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

IN

VOLUME THIRD.

P. 1—2, L. 1—15, thus.

THESE are the eight letters, which have now for two centuries been made the grand foundation of calumny against Mary. I have proved them to be forgeries, I trust, in the most satisfactory manner. The external evidence of the first volume, so strong in itself, has received a wonderful accession of strength, from the internal proofs of the second. And I mean to show here, at the beginning of the third, that FORGERY was sadly frequent, in the violent clashings of politics at this period.

P. 3,

P. 3, Note, L. 1, thus.*

* Goodall, i. 197. This author had seen more papers than he cites. He had plainly seen the curious letter, which Mr. Tytler published since in No. iii. of his Appendix; as is apparent from his language; in i. 409. He had thus seen some evidence, that proved the forgery of these letters. And in i. 327 we find him citing a MS. copy of Buchanan's Detection, "which is thought to be the very copy, that he presented to Queen Elizabeth;" without any intimation, where when he inspected it. And this negligence in such a writer, obliges us to rely upon his mere declaration at times.

Concerning this temporary kind, &c.

P. 4, L. 1, this note to herself.

So "a letter" was "written by the King's [her son's] secretary,—and *subscribed with the King's hand*, which he had *gotten by stealth and unawares to the King*" (Camden, under 1555 Transf. 562, Orig. ii. 169).

P. 6, last line, this note added.

This remark, however severe upon the Doctor, has been evidently confirmed since I wrote it, in a new edition of his history. In this *he gives the letter entirely*. He gives it up indeed, not absolutely spurious, but as founded upon some mistake in Melvill. "I am satisfied," he says ii. 340, edit. 11th, "that Melvil—has been mistaken with regard to this particular." He would willingly stifle, indeed, the idea of a forgery

gery in his friends; by an imputation of error to their historian. This however is some proof of advancing ingenuouſneſs, upon the mind of prejudice. His mind has been eight and twenty years, in riſing to *this* point of altitude in the ſcale. Yet

Eſt aliquid prodire tenus, ſi non datur ultra.

And ſhould he live to publiſh a new edition eight and twenty years hence, he will then, I doubt not, *own the whole to be a forgery*. It aſks half a century, to give an oak a proper appearance of ſtrength.

*P. 14, Note *, thus.*

* Goodall, ii. 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, and 84. Though the letter from Linlithgow in the *Confefſion*, was thus ſuppreſſed at Weſtminſter and at York, together with the letter from Linlithgow in the *Journal*, the two *Soſias* of this *play* of ours; yet the *former* was particularly noticed many years afterward by Buchanan. “Inde,” he ſays, Hiſt. xviii. p. 356, and means Linlithgow, “ad Bothwellium ſcripſit per Paridem, quid de *raptu* fieri vellet.” And this ſhows us again the perpetual *verſatility* of guilt.

*P. 30, Note *, thus.*

* Goodall, ii. 168—169. It is alſo become additionally requiſite to note this, as Dr. Robertſon, in the laſt edition of his hiſtory, has inferred from the appearance of ſome of theſe lords in the rebel parliament, that they “*aſſiſted* in framing
“ all

“ all the acts, by which the Queen was deprived
 “ of the crown, and her son seated on the throne
 “ and in particular *concurrent* in the act, by which
 “ it was declared, that whatever had befallen the
 “ Queen “ was in her own default, in so far as,
 &c. ii. 325. From such a calumny, so false and
 so enormous, it is only common charity to vindicate
 these worthy loyalists. And in the same edition,
 ii. 339, we have even Lord Herries’s forged
 speech cited, for the Queen’s “ inordinate affection”
 “ tion” to Bothwell. So much, even in the first
 edition of his history, is Dr. Robertson’s account
 of facts vain and visionary!

P. 32, L. 24, *thus*.

York. But this very bond *precluded* in terms the
 warrant. It professes to “ fortifie the said Earl
 “ the said marriage, so far as it may please our said
 “ soverane Lady to allow (a).” And the English
 commissioners at York, in the very moments of
 producing the warrant to them, speak in the very
 same style concerning the bond; declaring it to
 contain “ a generall consent to Bothwell’s marriage
 “ riage with the Quene, so far forth as—her own
 “ likings SHOULD allowe (b).” This language
 proves decisively, that the Queen had not *then*, at
 the moments of *subscription*, very strikingly allowed
 the bond by the warrant, and had not *then* showed
 her liking very significantly for the marriage. For
 this and other reasons probably, they carefull
 suppressed the warrant at York. They did, &c.

(a) Anderson, i. 110.

(b) Appendix, No. v.

P. 33, L. 22—24, *omitted*.

P. 38, L. 1, *thus*.

Nor let prejudice entrench itself in disingenuousness, by alleging any supposed inaccuracy in Douglas and his MS. concerning the subscriptions above. The MS. is a copy made by the late Mr. Crawford of Drumsoy, historiographer to Queen Anne, from a writing in the Cotton library. This writing is the original to us, because it is the primary paper. But it is only a transcript in itself, one made for Cecil by some Scotchman, I suppose, and writing the names from the pronunciation. Crawford's copy has been published by Keith, and I now publish Cecil's in my Appendix (a). There the last among the "lordis" is "Carliewe" for Carliel. No *personal* appellation is prefixed to the titular, any more than for numbers before and behind. The subscriber appears not either as *James* or as *Michael*. Yet he is certainly James. Douglas without hesitation asserts him to be James, and from some sure notices probably that he had before him at the moment. Nor is he wrong. Michael, we see, from his known inability to write, has his name inserted in the rebel association of 1567 by the hand of a publick notary. But the subscriber to Mary's association a few months afterward, writes his own name like the rest. He was totally different from Michael, therefore. And as *Michael* appears expressly from the record cited by Douglas, to have

(a) See No. xvii.

been

been the *heir and brotber* of *James*; *Michael* could not, either mediately or immediately, have subscribed to the rebel association in 1567 as *Lo Carlyle*, because his elder brother *James* was *th* Lord; and the name of *Michael* comes prominent to the eye, an additional evidence of the interpolating hand of forgery, in the list of rebel subscribers.

I have sufficiently proved before, the &c.

P. 38, L. 16—19, thus.

which paper [containing both] is more *FVL* &c.

—, *Note **, omitted.

P. 40, L. 20—25, thus.

forged with the same spirit of hastiness and negligence, with which we have seen the letter forged before; a first effort in the same operation of villainy; a promise of all that was performed afterwards, in the letters, in the sonnets, and in the contracts; and a suitable prelude to that grand consummation of iniquity, in which rebellion appeared throwing out its giant-arms of forgery every side, and Murray and his accomplices appeared ready with their giant falsehoods, to stoop the very heavens themselves (*a*).

(*a*) As this point is of much consequence in itself, I have paid it the compliment to re-consider it at full length, in a distinct dissertation; Appendix, No. xiv. And see more forgeries of the Scotch Reformers, exposed in No. 2

P. 2

P. 43, Note*, thus.

* Stuart, ii. 196, 208, 251, and 267. Walsingham appears to have been the great agent of Elizabeth in this business. In an intercepted letter of Mary's for Babington, says Camden, "was cunningly added" by Walsingham, "after the opening, a postscript *in the same characters*, desiring him to set down the names of the six gentlemen, *and, its likely, other things too*" (Orig. i. 408, Transf. 341). And Mary accordingly intimates her suspicion, as to some counterfeit letters produced against her, that "this was done by *Walsingham*, to bring her to her end" (Orig. i. 424, Transf. 355). But that forgery appears to have been dreadfully common in England at this period, is plain from a single fact. "I said before, that the Earl of Essex in 1601 complained of his *letters being counterfeited*. Hereof a diligent enquiry was made, and a notable imposture discovered. The Countess his wife, misdoubting some mischief to her husband and herself in this troublesome time, put certain *love-letters*, which she had received from him, into a *cabinet*, and intrusted them in the keeping of a Dutch woman named Rihove. This Dutch woman hid them at her house. By chance John Daniel, her husband, lighted upon them, read them, and, observing that there was something in them which might endanger the Earl and incense the Queen, caused them to be *transcribed by one that was expert in imitating hands very like the original*. And when the

N

"fearfull

“fearfull Countess was ready to lie in, he tol
 “her that he would presently deliver them int
 “the hands of the Earl’s enemies, unless sh
 “would forthwith give him 3,000 pound. She
 “to avoid the danger, gave him presently 1,17
 “pound down. And yet, for that great summe
 “she received *not* the *original* letters, *but* the *cc*
 “*pies*, from the impostour; who purposed to wip
 “the Earl’s adversaries also of a great summe c
 “money, for the *originals*. For this impostur
 “he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment
 “fined at 3,000 pound, whereof the Counte
 “was to have 2,000, and to stand with his ea
 “nailed to the pillory, with this inscription, —
 “*wicked forger and impostour*” (Camden, Tran
 630—631, Orig. ii. 249—250).

P. 43, L. 27.

For *Holyrood-house* read *Kirk-a-field*.

P. 44, L. 22, *this note to ground*.

We have another fact of this nature, but not
 in Britain, hinted at in this passage by Mary her
 self, in 1586: “that it was an easie matter t
 “counterfeit the cyphers and characters of others
 “as *a young man* did *very lately* in *France*, wh
 “gave himself out to be *her son’s base brother*
 (Camden, Orig. i. 434, Transf. 355).

P. 48, L. last, *thus*.

York; what he had more than hinted to, &c.

P. 49, L. 3, *this note to letters*.

Mary, in a letter to Elizabeth Nov. the 28th

1582, says thus to her: "My rebels perceiving, " that their headlong course was carrying them " much farther than they had thought before, and " *the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies,* " which had been propagated of me at the conference — ; there were *the principals*, for having " come to repentance, besieged by your forces in " the castle of Edinbourg, and *one of the first* " *among them poisoned,*" Lethington, " and the " other most cruelly hanged," Grange (Appendix, No. xvii).

P. 57, L. 17, *thus*.

as in Buchanan; though "plein" was then written "plain" at times (*a*).

P. 60, L. 4, *thus*.

the vulgarity of foul, affected by the forger, &c.

P. 74, L. 4—7, and notes * and †, *thus*.

very obscurely, "*werray* strangely," for *very* strangely, and "*werray* tymes" for *very* early, in the rebel journal *. We have also a letter from Robert Melvill, in 1560, "to my *werray* " gud Ladé my Ladé Cecil †." And what comes directly to the point, we have "vater" for *water*, in a letter of Knox's to Cecil (*b*); "the comone " *veill*" for the common *weal*, in one of Lord Boyd's (*c*); and "Nicolas *Vilkefon*" for Ni-

(*a*) Murdin, 559.

* Anderson, ii. 271, 272, and 274.

† Haynes, 363.

(*b*) Ibid. 372.

(*c*) Ibid. 506.

cholas *Wilkinson*, in a letter of Bishop Lesley's to Elizabeth (*a*).

P. 84, L. 7—8, *thus*.

of her character.

But, to lend a fullness and a roundness to this stroke of the pencil, I must add; that the anguish of mind, which relieved her by discharging itself at her eyes, had a previous tendency to throw her into fits of fainting. So, in Randolph's letter preceding, "as she rode in the street, *she fell sick*, "and was *born from her horse into her lodgings*." She was also affected in the same manner, when she went over to the rebels at Carbarrie Hill, and when those fiends *first* peeped out from behind the visors of the saints. Seeing the infamous standard, which appears to have been the grand ensign of rebellious war to them (*b*), with a peculiar affrontiveness carried always before her; she, as Buchanan tells us, "*animo linquente, ægrè ne ex equo caderet, sustentata fuit (c)*." Yet she was even affected, in this manner, at an earlier period of her life, and when her health appears to have been very tender and delicate, by oppressions merely bodily and stomachick. So in France, says Throgmorton on June 21st, 1559, "the Quene Dolphin being the sayde daye at

(*a*) Murdin, 39. See also 568 for "*wryte*" to *write*, "*well-wyllars*" for *well-willers*, "*varly*" for *warily*, "*var*" for *were*, and "*vay*" for *way*. See also 569, 571, 573, and 577, and No. xvii, Appendix.

(*b*) See the cenotaph of Darnly mentioned before, i. 4. 2, and the view of the armies at Carbarrie Hill there given.

(*c*) Hist. xviii. 364.

"chirche,"

“chirche,” that of Nostre Dame in Paris, “was
 “very yvil at ease; and, *to kepe her from found-*
 “*ing* [swooning], [they] were fayne *to bring her*
 “*wyne from the alter (a).*” On the 25th of Au-
 gust in the same year he adds likewise, as from
 the Spanish embassadour; that “after diner he,”
 the embassadour, “was in the cumpeny of the
 “French King and the French Queen; which
 “Queen, he said *loked very evil*, and was *so weake*,
 “as, even before all the presence that was there,
 “*she fell on sounding* [swooning], and was *in very*
 “*dangerous case*, as *she is always after meale*;
 “when she was *with aqua composita revived*, and
 “retired (b).” But upon the 20th of September
 following he writes thus. “The French Queen,”
 he says, “who—, contrary to her wont, hathe
 “found herself well, is now, upon occasion of
 “such newes as Levestin brought from Scotland,
 “fallen sick again; in such sort, as the xxviii.
 “of this present month, being at even-song, was
 “*for faintnes* constrained to be led to her cham-
 “ber, *where she swooned* [swooned] *twice or*
 “*thrice (c).*” And thus, when her healk im-
 proved into the strength and vigour which it
 afterwards obtained, then, and because of her
 previous delicacy of frame, anguish of mind
 did for her, what bodily malady had done before.

P. 85, to L. 13, is thus added.

“Pour luy tous mes *parens* j’ay quitté et amis,”
 French. “For him I have forsakin all *kin* and

(a) Forbes, i. 144.

(b) Ibid. i. 210.

(c) Ibid. i. 244.

"friends," Scotch. Here the Scotch is right. But in Sonnet i. "parens" is rendered by "friendis." It is so likewise in Sonnet iii. Nor would it probably have translated the word differently, in this sonnet; if the union of "amis" with it, had not compelled the strayer into the right road. Even then, the translator never looked back to correct his mistakes before. Yet the word *parent*, at this day, very strangely means a *relation* in French; though *parens* means *parents*. And in a letter of May 1st, 1568, Mary assures Elizabeth, that the latter has in no part of the world "a more tender, affectionate *relation* than herself," "une plus profche, affectionée *parante*" (Haynes, 464). I have even shown in ii. 4. 4, our embassadour at Paris in 1559 using the word *parentaige* for relationship, in a reported address from Mary.

P. 89, remark (1), L. 3—6, *thus*.

were sent as a poetical epistle of love to him.—"To devise," Scotch, is put to answer "de deviser, French, which means to converse together; just as we have seen "devising" and "devises" used in the letters of our embassadours at Paris (*a*).

P. 93, L. 9 to the bottom omitted.

P. 97, Note *, *thus*.

* Crawford, 42, 2, and 53. "In the weiris aganis Ingland," says Mary also in her instruc-

(*a*) See ii. 4. 4.

tions

tions to her embassadour, May 1567, “ — he
 “ gaif sic pruiſ of his vailzeantnes, courage, and
 “ gude conduct; that notwithstanding he wes yan
 “ of verie zounge aige, zit wes he choſin out as
 “ maift fit of the haill nobilitie, to be oure lieu-
 “ tenant-generall uponn the bordouris, having
 “ the haill charge alſweill to defend as to affayle.
 “ *At quibilk tyme he maid mony nobill entirpryses,*
 “ *not unknowin to baith the realmis; be the quibilk*
 “ *he acqreirit a ſingular reputatioun in boytb*”
 (Keith, 388). Yet this is the man, whom the
 overweening confidence of calumniation has re-
 preſented, as a braggart and a coward (Detection,
 53—55, Anderſon, ii. and 304—305, Jebb, i.)
 And thoſe “ mony nobill entirpryses” are now
 all ſuppreſſed, by the partial hand of hiſtory.

Having obſerved this, let me mark what I take
 to be three other miſtakes concerning Bothwell.
 He is ſaid to have diſſipated his fortune by his ex-
 travagance, and ſo to be ready for any meaſures
 of deſperation (Anderſon, ii. 55, Jebb, i. 305);
 when in Paris’s firſt confeſſion he is ſaid at the
 very time, to be “ the greateſt lands-lord of the
 country” (Goodall, i. 139). His family alſo is
 ſaid (Keith, 388), to have been only a younger
 branch of the Hepburns of Waughton; when the
 Waughtons are only a younger branch of the en-
 nobled Hepburns (Douglas’s Peerage, 83). And
 he is alſo declared in 1567 to have been thrown
 into a priſon in Denmark, there to have lived ten
 years, and there to have died (Stuart, i. 272); when
 in 1570 he was “ ſtrolling about at liberty, and
 “ living

“ living without dread of punishment” (Goodall i. 360—361.

P. 97, L. 24, thus.

“ favour.” He was neither to be allowed the means of staying abroad, nor permitted to come home. And on the 15th, &c.

P. 98, L. 4, thus.

malignant prosecutor; and both united with the Duke of Chatelleraut, as Cecil himself informs us, “ in a common quarrel ageynst all, excepting “ God and ther Soverayn ;” came, &c.

—— *Note *, L. 1—2, thus.*

* Murdin, 758, and Keith, App. 160. The connection of this fact concerning the armed force of, and the confederacy between, Argyle and Murray, with the two facts preceding, has, &c.

—— — *L. 8—9, thus.*

And so is Knox’s too. To Murray, he says, “ *assisted*—seven or eight hundred men;—there *assisted* my Lord of Murray, the Erles of *Argyle*, “ Glencarne and Crawford, *with grit numbers*, “ and *many Lords and Barones*” (Knox, 372). We must therefore abide by Randolph’s number; as he wrote at the time, while Knox or his continuator wrote some time afterwards.

P. 99, L. last, thus.

preceding. In the November and December before both, as Knox himself informs us, “ at his “ pleasure, the Erles of Lenox, Athole, and Castles, with divers others, without ony dissimulation
“ *tioun*

oun knawn, went to the mels openly in hir
trapel; yet, nevertheles, the Erles of Huntley
and *Bothwell went not to the mels*, albeit they
ere in grit favour with the Quene (*a*)."

P. 100, L. 1—2, thus.

ith of February we know for certain from
adolph himself, and even from Knox; that
awell, &c.

—, *L. 10, thus.*

"The Erle of Bothwell," says Knox,
as married unto the Erle of Huntley his sister:
ie Quene desired, that the marriage micht
e maid in the chappell at the mels; quhilk
ie Erle Bothwell *wald in nowise grant* (*b*).

P. 103, L. last, this note.

ince the publication of my work, as I have
nated in my advertisement to this supplement,
d Hailes has favoured me with a letter con-
ning the present part of it. In this he urges
e new arguments, against the obvious appli-
on of the ninth sonnet: and he virtually gives
the old, by not offering to defend them,
l as I wish to bar the door for ever to those,
would willingly fly from the conviction forced
on them by this sonnet; I shall present my
der with the substantial part of my reply to
letter.

'Your Lordship—intimates, that you meant
ot to be an antagonist to Mary, in your pub-
shed observations on the ninth sonnet. Yet,

(*a*) *P. 389,*

(*b*) *Knox, 392.*

“ on reviewing your observations again, I must
 “ think that you *appeared* as such. The whole
 “ turn of your remarks is hostile to Mary. You
 “ do not indeed speak out, like a Buchanan, or
 “ even a Robertson, against her. You are no
 “ an avowed enemy. Yet you are an enemy
 “ And, at the close, you drop the involuntary
 “ disguise entirely ; by speaking of “ the vota-
 “ ries of Mary,” as different from and opposite
 “ to yourself. In such circumstances, my Lord,
 “ can you wonder that one of “ her votaries,”
 “ and one who has extended “ the Marian con-
 “ troversy, already too angry and too volumi-
 “ nous,” into three volumes more of anger for
 “ her sake ; mistook you for one of her adver-
 “ saries ?

“ Even in your present letter, your Lordship is
 “ equally acting in the same manner against her.
 “ You are still endeavouring to wrest out of the
 “ hands of her friends, that formidable weapon
 “ of defence, which your Lordship’s *sagacity first*
 “ *discovered* in the sonnets, and which your Lord-
 “ ship’s affection instantly attempted to prevent
 “ her friends from seizing. You saw the use,
 “ that might be made of it. Your spirit was
 “ alarmed. And your understanding instantly
 “ supplied you with a measure of diversion, that
 “ it thought would be effectual. Such, at least,
 “ appears to me to have been the process in your
 “ mind, indiscernible perhaps to yourself, but vi-
 “ sible to the eye of criticism. The operations
 “ of the mind become visible, in the acts of
 “ the man. And your Lordship’s letter, I am
 “ persuaded,

“ persuaded, is only a continuation of the same
 “ efforts against Mary, which your Lordship began in your publication.

“ You seem, however, to drop the grand point
 “ at present, of “ *ce corps*” meaning the body
 “ of Lady Bothwell, instead of the body of
 “ Mary. You turn to other words in the sonnet.
 “ And these are to serve the purpose, I presume,
 “ for which the others were originally engaged.
 “ The first line,

“ Pour lui aussi j’ay jetté mainte larme,

“ you say, “ does not mean, in your opinion,
 “ any violent passion of love, but merely the
 “ manner in which females, who may be both
 “ *αγαθαι* and *αρι-δαρκες*, interest themselves for
 “ any one.” But if the line signifies *any* passion
 “ of *love* in Mary for Bothwell, at the time of
 “ his marriage to Lady Jane Gordon; then it is,
 “ as I have decisively shown (I think) in my
 “ work, directly in the teeth of truth. And
 “ that it must mean *love*, and not any lower degree of regard; is plain. For a *woman* to
 “ *shed tears*, and to *shed many a tear*, on the *marriage of a man to another woman*; is surely an
 “ evidence of something more than regard. It
 “ comes forward to the judgment at once, a full
 “ proof of disappointed love.

“ In the next line, as you *now* think, the first
 “ words “ *premier que*” should be rendered,
 “ not *first when*, but *before that*. At present,
 “ undoubtedly, “ *premier que*” signifies *before*.
 “ This

" This is certainly in favour of your argumen
 " But then the argument has ten times more i
 " its disfavour, I think. There has been
 " great alteration made in the French languag
 " since the days of Queen Mary. Of this w
 " have a notable instance, in the very letter
 " ascribed to her. It occurred to me, only sinc
 " I published. But it is very apparent. " Au
 " " cun" and "aucunement," at present, fig
 " nify *none* and *not at all*. Yet in Lett. i. Sect
 " 5, 7, 8, 13, 26, 29, and 33, "aucun;" and i
 " Lett. vi. Sect. 2, "aucunement;" signify th
 " very opposite of this, and mean *some* and *some*
 " *what*. Just so it is with "premier que.
 " Now meaning *before*, it formerly meant, as th
 " present passage shows, *first when*. This w
 " so obvious from the whole air and complexio
 " of the context, that you yourself, and I aft
 " you, took it without hesitation in that sen
 " only. And the Scotch translator, a coten
 " porary with the original writer, took it precise
 " in the same sense. Nor indeed can the conte
 " admit of any other. Upon this new constru
 " tion, the lines would run thus :

" " For him also I pourit out mony teiris,
 " " *Before* he made himself possessor of this body,
 " " Of the quhilk he had not then the hart."

" Here we have the tears noticed as before, but t
 " *object of them is all withdrawn from the vie*
 " The *cause* of the tears, which was particular
 " dwelt upon before, is not even glanced at no
 " And the *fact*, that provoked the tears, and th
 " w

“ was explained in the fullest manner before, is
 “ now buried in the grave of refinement. We
 “ had plain common-sense before, we have not a
 “ ray of it now. We are left to grope in the
 “ dark, for the *occasion* of all. The stated fact
 “ is turned into a mere chronology of it. And
 “ we have an ample display of the chronology,
 “ belonging to the fact; while the fact itself, to
 “ which the chronology belongs, is totally sup-
 “ pressed. Surely all this, my Lord, is such a
 “ turning and twisting of the whole, such a de-
 “ viation from propriety into wildness, and such
 “ an ascension from the solid ground of criticism
 “ into the airy regions of system; as must strike
 “ powerfully upon your Lordship’s mind. Your
 “ Lordship, I am sure, will be above the wretched
 “ subterfuge, of making the sonnets to speak non-
 “ sense; rather than let them speak a sense, dis-
 “ agreeable to your prejudices.

“ I have said thus much, my Lord, in honour
 “ of your Lordship’s observation. But I need
 “ not say more. The whole passage applies too
 “ powerfully to every mind, I think, to be long
 “ resisted. And that your Lordship could resist
 “ it before, would be more surprising to me, if I
 “ did not know too much by experience, of the
 “ uncertainty of the human mind, &c.

“ But, as to my application of this line,

“ *Quand il versa de son sang mainte dragme,*”

“ to some wound inflicted by Bothwell upon
 “ himself soon after the rape; you very properly
 “ observe,

“observe, that “some evidence ought to be
 “given” of such a wound. Some certainly
 “should. Some actually is given. And it lies
 “in this very passage. When the grand fact
 “is ascertained, *that* gives the tone and ten-
 “dency to all others. When the capital figure
 “in the piece is appropriated, *that* throws a clear
 “light upon all the rest. And the rape being
 “the grand and leading point of the whole, every
 “lesser circumstance must necessarily be referred
 “to *that*.”

P. 109, L. 8, *thus*.

“we fand his doing rude,” in the seizure, “zitt
 “were his,” &c.

P. 110, to Note * *is thus added*.

France. But indeed both these assertions of calumny are contradicted directly, by an authority even superiour to Mary's in this point, even by the very rebels themselves. Bothwell, they say on the 16th of June, “ambesett hir Majesties
 “way, tuik and ravishit hir, maist nobill person,
 “and led the samyne with him to Dunbar cast-
 “tell, thair detayning hir prisonere and captive”
 (Anderfon, i. 136). Bothwell, they add on the 21st of July, “tresonabilie revefit hir Majesties
 “maist nobill person, and led hir captive to
 “Dunbar” (Anderfon, i. 142). And, as they subjoin in their grand act of attainder against Bothwell, on the 20th of December following, he and his accomplices were attainted “pro eo-
 “rum *proditoria interceptione nobilissimæ personæ*
 “matris nostræ Mariæ, Scotorum Regina, in
 “viâ

“viâ suâ ;—ac *proditoriâ et violentâ incarceratione*
 “nobilissimæ personæ dict. charissimæ matris
 “nostræ in castro de Dunbar ; et *detentione* ejus-
 “dem in dicto castro ad spatium duodecim die-
 “rum ; sic *nefandum crimen raptûs* in nobilissimam
 “personam ipsius *committendo*” (see Black Acts).
 But why do I stop to refute such frivolous imputations as these, upon Mary ? My reason is ; that the imputations, however frivolous, have been long received by the ready malevolence of the world, as true ; and that their reception has been particularly enforced, by the authority here relating them. And I wish to observe at the close, that the great fact of the rape afterwards, comes in with a decisive addition to all ; and joins to sweep those slanderous impertinences, in a tempest of evidence before it.

P. 111, L. last, thus.

“yat it mycht appeir be yair *handwrittis*” in the bond, “and *silence* at,” &c.

—, note of former page, L. 8, thus.

never did apply, for such a pardon ; whatever Mr. Hume may venture to affirm (v. 114—115), wildly referring us to their very reason assigned, as a proof of the fact itself. Neither Dr. Robertson, nor, &c.

P. 116, Note †, thus.

† Goodall, ii. 57—61, and Appendix, No. x.

Let me here observe, that the fact of the RAPE has now appeared successively asserted, by Buchanan, by the Queen, by Melvill, by the rebel
 sonnets,

sonnets, and by the rebel memorial ; and yet ~~that~~ in a period of our history so read, examined, and canvassed, this the grand incident of Mary's life which alone can account for some striking parts of her conduct, has never before been introduced into the history of her life, and never before made the ground of any critical vindication of her. And I cannot but subjoin to this observation, an extract from my previously-mentioned reply to Lord Hailes's letter.

“ You beheld the lines in the sonnet, that proclaimed the rape loudly. You even cited one of the strongest confirmations of the fact, that is possible to be given. You cited these very words of Melvill : “ the Queen could not but marry him, seeing *he had ravished her, and lain with her against her will.*” Yet, after all, did you admit the fact ? No ! You turned the rape into a seduction. You turned the very authorities, which told you of the sexual intercourse, and which told it in such a manner as fully to justify Mary, into evidences *against* her, into proofs of her *weakness and wickedness*. This is such an instance of mental infirmity, as can hardly be exceeded. Yet it was exceeded in Dr. Stuart. Without your bias of prejudice, and with only your example before him, he cited the very words of Melvill, just as you had cited them ; and then—he perverted them, just as you had perverted them before. When I first saw this clearly in Dr. Stuart, I was perfectly amazed. The text and the note were in a state of complete contradiction. He had

“ all

"also overlooked one of the strongest topicks for
 "the justification of Mary, that the whole com-
 "pass of history could furnish. He had turned
 "it even, into a crimination of her. And he
 "had adopted all your Lordship's deviousness of
 "conduct, without one soliciting reason for so do-
 "ing. But, had he lived to see my work, I doubt
 "not he would have been instantly convinced of
 "his error. And I equally trust, that I shall
 "have the honour of making a compleat profelyte
 "of your Lordship in time."

.

"Yet, "a farther difficulty occurs," you re-
 "mark; "how came the enemies of Queen
 "Mary to know of this incident [the rape], so
 "as to insert it in the stanzas?" How came
 "Melvill, my Lord, to know of the rape it-
 "self? How came Morton and Lethington,
 "my Lord, to know of it, and of that other
 "circumstance belonging to it, the stupifying
 "draughts? The two latter say, that this "by
 "many conjectures may well be suspected."
 "They had therefore "many" means of
 "conjecturing" it. But they undoubtedly knew
 "it all, from their confederate and their imple-
 "ment, Bothwell. I have accordingly said, that,
 "no doubt, they knew it from Bothwell himself;
 "though they could not avow the communica-
 "tion" (iii. 145). And in i. 219 I have given
 "a memorable instance, of their indiscreet rea-
 "diness to tell their own secrets of villainy with

O

"Bothwell,

"Bothwell, even at the hazard of betraying their own confederacy with him."

*P. 117, Note *, L. 2, thus.*

by Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 356, by Knox, 405 and by Hume, v. 114, but contradicted in, &c.

P. 122, L. 13—21, thus.

well as Sunday (*a*). But the minister properly refusing to take a *verbal* order, in so important business; upon Wednesday the Queen sent him a written direction, as she had equally done a Darnly's marriage; and equally subscribed it with her own hand. The divorce was pronounced that very morning, in that very church, and therefore before the service began. For this reason, Craig did not object to the publication upon that account. He had another scruple. He must now consult the kirk before he published the banns. He therefore omitted the publication that day. The next he consulted the kirk. The kirk consented to the publication. He accordingly published them for the first time, on Friday May the 9th (*b*). Yet even then Bothwell would not venture, to give her her liberty. And he still, &c.

—, *L. last, thus.*

brought her out of the castle, the next day. But even then, he carried her before, &c.

(*a*) Yet so they seem also to have been in England, from Forbes, ii. 181.

(*b*) Robertson, ii. 450, and Anderson, &c.

P. 124, L. 5—7, *thus*.

Bothwell was certainly present at both. Even one, &c.

——, *Note **, *thus*.

* Knox, 406; Anderfon, &c.

P. 125, L. 2, *thus*.

liberty all the while.

But that the Queen was all the while under the constraining power of Bothwell, is evident from the whole tenour of the history, and is even acknowledged plainly by the rebels themselves. “James Erle Bothuele,” they say on the 12th of June afterwards, “put violent handes in our So-
“veraine Ladies maist nobill persoune, upon the
“24 daie of April last bypast; and thairafter
“wardit hir Hienes in the castell of Dunbar,
“quhilk he had in keiping; and, be a lang space
“thairastir, convoyit hir Majestie, invironit with
“men of weir, and sic friendis and kinsmen of
“his as wald do for him, *evir in sic places qubair*
“*be bad maist dominioun and power (a).*” Even when, &c.

——, L. 9, *thus*.

“be thair *silence*.” And “the said Erle,” Bothwell, as the rebels additionally inform us in an act of their own privy council on July the 21st, “—after he had—tresonabilie revefit hir Majesties maist nobill persoun, and led hir captive
“to Dunbar, *constrenit hir*, being in his bond-

(a) Anderfon, i. 131.

"age and thraldome, to contract—marriage with
"him (a).

The factious nobles were, &c.

P. 125, L. 26—27, *thus*.

"couple herself in marriage with the said
"Earle (b)." And Cecil, who was privy to ~~all~~
the plans of that rebellion, which was now in its
very moment of projection, says expressly in a
letter so late as the TWELFTH of May: "The
"Queen of Scots, I think, WILL be WOED to
"marry the Earl Bothwell (c)." So necessarily
was it to woo and to *constrain* the Queen into, &c.

P. 126, L. 14—17, *thus*.

were taught to consider it as all artifice. For
fear of being imposed upon by a *real* cheat,
they allowed themselves to be deceived by a *pre-*
tended one. And, all the while, Bothwell was
"constraining her, being in his bondage and
"thralldom, to contract marriage with him."

—, L. 25—29, *thus*.

to her fate; the horrible perfidioufness, of the on *by*
part of her nobles who spoke to her upon the sub-
ject, who urged and urged her to the fatal prece-
dence, "who smiled and smiled, and yet were vi-
lains;" and the violent driving of Bothwell
under whose guard of harquebusiers she was con-
tinually kept, "as well day as night, wherever she
"went:" all impelled, &c.

(a) Anderson, i. 142.

(b) P. 26.

(c) Cabala, Part 1st. 127.

P. 128, *note of former page, L. 7—10, thus.*

on the day of the marriage. And Knox says, in the end of 1565, that the Papists “knew the King to be of thair religioun, as weill as the Quene with some part of the nobility; who, *“with the King, efter declared thamselves openly”* (Knox, 390). He therefore was *openly* a Protestant before. He accordingly banded, &c.

P. 131, L. 20—26, *thus.*

from this.

The very rebels themselves have already acknowledged, in their written memorial of July the 20th, 1567, to Throgmorton, then Elizabeth’s embassadour in Scotland; that, *after* the marriage, Bothwell kept her “environed with a continual guard of 200 harquebuziers, as well day as night, wherever she went; that, if any man had to do with the Prince, it behoved him, before he could come to her presence, to go throughe the ranks of harquebuziers, under the mercy of a notorious tyrant, as it were to pass the pykes (a).” But they say the same in their first proclamation of June the 12th. The marriage “being endit,” they *then* tell us, “and he full proceeding from an [ane] kind of iniquitie to another, his cruell and ambitious nature being knawin, and how na nobilman nor uther durst resort to hir Majestie, to speke with hir, to procure thair lauchfull business, *without suspicion*, but *be him* and *in his audience*; hir

(a) Keith, 418.

"*chalmers douris being continuallie watchit w*
 "*men of weir,*" &c (a). They therefore spe
 on the 12th of June concerning *him*, as "hald
 "hir zit in captivitie;" they speak on the 2
 concerning *her*, as "continowing still in thr
 "dome and bondage under the yoke of tha
 "marriage;" and they declare on the 21st of J
 and the 16th of June concerning *themselves*, t
 they took up arms "to relieve our said Sover
 "perfoun furth of the *bondage* and ignomi
 "quhilk, with ye said Erle, under ye pretenc
 "ye said unlauchfull mariage, sche susteni
 or, in nearly the same words, "*to deliver our*
 "*Soverane furth of his bandis*, and of the ig
 "miny, schame, and sklander, quhilk, *bein*
 "*thraldome with him*, scho has sustainit u
 "pretence of the said—mariage (b)."
 they even add on July the 20th concerning
 private part of his behaviour to her, that
 "should not have lived with him *half a year*
 "an end; as may be conjectured," they say, "
 "the short time they lived together (c)."

So clearly does, &c.

P. 135, L. 2—3, *thus*.

He found them too strong for him, or he h
 of the insurrection behind him. He retrea
 &c.

P. 137, Note †, *thus*.

† Melvill, 83; Goodall, ii. 164—165;

(a) Anderson, i. 136. (b) Anderson, i. 132, 139
 and 137. (c) Keith, 418.

that engraving by Vertue from original pictures, in Kensington Palace and at the Duke of Richmond's, of which I have given an account before, i. 4. 2.

P. 153, remark (2), L. 1, thus.

(2) This very person, who was parson of Auldhamstock, a part of Bothwell's estates, sued out, &c.

—, *Note †, thus.*

† Douglas's Peerage, 86, and Robertson, &c.

*P. 157, Note *, thus.*

* Appendix, No. x.

P. 185, Note §, thus.

§ Appendix, No. x.

P. 191, L. 8—9, thus.

against them, or of their being even confronted one with the other (a).

P. 193, note of the former page, L. 2, thus.

"to Denmark," where his old master was at the time, &c.

P. 200, Note †, L. 1, thus.

† Ibid. 70, Anderson, 261, Jebb. It is also said in Knox, 404, that "the nynt of February the King was murthered, and the hous quhare he lay *burned with powder.*"

A new confession is, &c.

(a) Goodall, i. 385. Goodall also urges the non-appearance of torture used to them. But he is wrong in the fact. Torture is expressly said to have been used, in a letter near the time; Robertson, ii. 435.

P. 206, L. 23, thus.

up, though James repeatedly solicited her to ~~do~~
it (Spotswood, 347—348). She even, &c.

P. 218, L. 12, thus.

“truth: and swa by [beside or against] the corn-
“moun,” &c.

*P. 227, Note *, L. 4—5, thus.*

Ormeiston's confession says the same; affirmin^g
that “the haill lords—concludit the samen ⁱⁿ
“Craigmillar, all that wes ther with the Quein ^{is}”
that “the haill—concludit—~~be sould be put~~ ^{off}
“be ane way or uther;” and that this conclusioⁿ
was taken, “ane quartur of ane year before ~~the~~
“deid was done” (Arnot's Criminal Trials, 38 ⁴
and 386). All explains, &c.

—, *L. last, thus.*

“despeche him.” And Ormeiston says, that h
was to “be put off ~~be ane way or uther.~~”

P. 228, Note ‡, L. 3—4, thus.

(Goodall, i. 140). And Ormeiston speaks o
“ane contract” as read to him by Bothwell, in
which “the haill nobilitie and lords under—
“subscryvand” bound themselves to murder
Darnly, and which was “subscryvit be them all
“ane quartur of ane year before the deid was
“done” (Arnot, 385—386).

—, *Note ||, thus.*

|| Arnot, 9, &c.

P. 230, L. last but one, this note to Balfour.

For this reason it is, I suppose, that the King is
said

said to lie "in a lodging laily bocht by Maister
" James Balfour, Clerk Register" (Knox, 404).

P. 235, Note, L. 12—20, *thus*.

(*ibid.* i. 107—108). Spotswood says there was
" a placard affixed *on the market cros*," and there
were " libels and placard affixed on the door of
" the senate-house" or tolbooth (200 and 201).
And Blackwood, a cotemporary writer, says they
were fixed up " aux carrefours de la ville" (Jebb,
ii. 216). These libels, therefore, were actually
set up on the doors or corners of St. Giles's
church, on the market-cros, and at the crossings
of the streets; as well as on the door of the tol-
booth. Accordingly we are told in Crawford's
Memoirs, 128, on a later occasion, that it was
" often posted up upon the market-cros, church-
" doors, and other conspicuous parts of the city,
" that," &c. Spotswood also tells us, that Both-
well, on his acquittal, " set up a paper in the most
" conspicuous place of *the market*," challenging
" any one to accuse him;" and that " the next
" day *in the same place*, by another writing, an-
" swer was made" (201 and 202). And this,
&c.

P. 240, L. 14, *thus*.

" ane ground." He could not mean, as Dr. Ro-
bertson insinuates he did (*a*), that, &c.

P. 244, L. 10—15, *thus*.

On his return, however, he lay not at his own
lodgings in the palace; according to the rebels,

(*a*) Diff. 17—18.

but

but went into the city, and slept there. They mean most probably, that he slept at Sir James Balfour's. Early the next morning he went to Kirk-a-field with Sir James, as they tell us; and, as we must suppose, to view, &c.

P. 244, Note §, thus.

§ Appendix, No. x. So Murray went away "to his own house" at St. Andrew's, just before the murder, says Camden; "lest he should come within suspicion; and that *he might from thence, if need were, relieve the conspiratours*" (Camden, Transf. 92, Orig. i. 115).

P. 245, L. 4, thus.

It charged, that "in the months of Januarii and "Febrii, in the year of God 1566 yeiris," he had plotted with others to murder the King "within "the burgh of Edⁿ, *pallice of Hallyruid-houfe,* "and *uthers places therabout;*" that at last he murdered him at Kirk-a-field, by blowing up the house with gunpowder; and that "*the powder* &c.

P. 248, Note †, thus.

† Ibid. ibid. and Hollinshed, ii. 429.

P. 249, L. 11—13, thus.

Why should Francis Thynne, who continued Hollinshed's history of Scotland from the year 1571 to 1586, be, &c.

P. 252, L. 5, thus.

immediately. And it is pointedly referred to by Queen Mary herself, and with an addition of evidence, in a fine letter to Elizabeth soon after-

ls. Awfully appealing to God against her, even summoning her (as it were) to appear before the judicial throne of God, she thus writes. In his name, and as before him sitting between you and me," she says, "I will remind you, that by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was here, my subjects were corrupted, and encouraged to rebel against me, *to make attempts upon my person*, and, in one word, *to speak, do, interpret, and execute that, which has come to be said of this country during my troubles*: of which I will not at present specify other proof, than THAT WHICH I HAVE GAINED OF IT by the CONFESSOR OF ONE," or, as Camden in his judgment of this letter says, "confessione ex MORTONII ipsius ore," "who was afterwards amongst those that were *most* advanced for this good service, and OF THE WITNESSES CONFRONTED WITH HIM (a)." Nor is Mary's attention the only one that we have, to Francis Wynn's veracity on this extraordinary subject. Morton, "when he came to the scaffold," says the temporary author of the first rank, concerning Mary, was forced by "a remorse of conscience TO DO HER JUSTICE (b)."

These three accounts form a singular addition to the evidence, that Morton's confession was an am-

Appendix, No. xvii. This letter I recommend to the perusal of all my readers. It shows very strikingly, how Mary could write, how Elizabeth acted, and how Mary died.

Crawford, 54—55.

ple

ple one, that it contained particulars which are not to be found in it at present, that it peculiarly vindicated the character of Mary, and that it even concurred with the depositions of the witnesses against Morton, to expose the guilt of Elizabeth in all the flagitious transactions of Morton, the murder of Rizzio, the confinement of the Queen at Holyrood-house, the murder of Darnly, the imprisonment of the Queen at Lochleven, &c. &c.

Yet the presbyterian, &c.

P. 252, L. 10, thus.

at first, only what related to Mary and Morton themselves.

P. 255, L. 10, thus.

This, with an œconomical prudence which appears rather singular in the eyes of the present age, was covered, &c.

P. 261, L. 13, thus.

was to be the great agent in it, and, &c.

— *L. 16, for palace read house.*

*P. 266, Note *, L. last, thus.*

. . . Dec. 7th, 1561. This was before the marriage of Murray, which did not take place till the month of February following (Knox, 302). was not considered as a masquerade, however. It was only a tilting by gentlemen in fancy-dress. And therefore Knox speaks thus concerning Murray's marriage: "the gritnes of the bankett, and "the vanity usit thairat, offendit many godly "there began the masking, quhilk from yeir to ye "h—

"*bes continued since*" (Knox, 302).—That *black* was then used for mourning equally as it is now, notwithstanding what is said by Dr. Stuart, i. 109—110; is plain from the very passage in the text above, and again from this in a letter of Throgmorton's. Speaking of the intended burial of King Henry at Paris, he says on August the 4th, 1559: "I have as yet received no *blackes* *for mourning*—; notwithstanding, I have *bought me a mourning cote and cloke*" (Forbes, i. 192). And accordingly Knox says expressly, that the Queen was married "all clothed in *mourning*" (p. 380).

P. 267, L. 10—12, *thus*.

weekly day of combined devotions. Yet Mary, in compliment probably to this rising prejudice among her subjects, did not directly break in upon the Sunday, with her masquerade. She evaded the violation of the one, by deferring the commencement of the other. The masquerade was not to begin, till the Sunday was past. It did not begin, before the clock had struck twelve. This the extreme lateness of the hour, when she recollected her promise, and went away to perform it, very forcibly suggests to us. And Buchanan is positive in his declaration concerning it, as he says; "*proximum mane ludis et lætitiæ destinarat (a)*."

Mary had thus promised a masque and a dance to her household, after twelve that night, on, &c.

P. 268, L. 4, *thus*.

prepare, and no Bothwells execute, &c.

(a) Hist. xviii. 351.

P. 268,

P. 268, L. 19—27, *thus*.

Nor must this be considered as any change ~~of~~ general resolution in the Queen, and as therefore occasioning the immediate execution of the plot. She had previously intended this, then forgot her intention, and now recollected it. The marriage of Sebastian had for some time, no doubt, been intended to be celebrated on this day. And the Queen had equally, no doubt, for some time promised to treat her attendants upon it, with a masqued ball at night. Such a promise, and such a wedding would occasion too much talk, and would require too much preparation, not to be well known. Accordingly, the designed wedding is declared by the very rebels themselves, and in their very forgeries of the letters, to have been known to the Queen, known to her attendants, and even communicated to the King at Glasgow, more than a *fortnight before the day*. "I am "abaschit," she is made to say in her *first* intercourse with the King on the 24th of January, "quha has schawin him sa far; zea, he spak evin "of *ye marriage of Bastiane (a)*." And the marriage being well known to be designed for Sunday, and the masqued ball being equally known to be designed for the night of that day, the conspirators very naturally pitched upon this night, for the grand execution of their plot. Bothwell, as particularly solicitous not to destroy the Queen with her husband, must have been seeking the op-

(a) Lett. i. Sect. 6.

portunity of her absence from him, during the days that she had begun to sleep in the house. This intended ball would present the opportunity. It must be carefully secured. It would not occur again. The King, who was now able to sit up so late, could not have been expected for some days before, to be long an inhabitant of the house. And we have the evidence of history itself, that this night had been previously pitched upon by the conspirators, for the execution of their horrible villainy.

"Is it unknown, think ye, the Erle of Murray," says the Bishop of Ross in a remarkable anecdote, concerning the *well-timed* departure of Murray from Edinburgh on the forenoon of Sunday the 9th (a), "what the Lord Harris said *"to your face* openly, even *at your owne table*, a *"few daies after* the murther was committed? "Did he not *charge* you with the FOREKNOWLEDGE of the same murther? Did not he, nullâ circutione usus, *flatly and plainly* burden you; "that you, riding in Fisse, and coming with one "of your moste assured trusty servants, *the said day wherein you departed from Edenborough*, said "to him among other talke, THIS NIGHT, ERE MORNING, THE LORDE DARLEY SHALL LOSE "HIS LIFE (b)?" No doubt can be made, concerning the truth of this assertion. It was immediately addressed by Lord Hennis himself, to the Earl of Murray himself. It was addressed

(a) Detection, 20, Anderson, i. and 289, Jebb, i.

(b) P. 75. Anderson, i.

openly to him, at his own table, and within a few days after the murder. He then and there charged him, with a FOREKNOWLEDGE of the murder. He also confirmed his charge by an appeal to a speech, which Murray himself had made to a confidential servant, the day before the murder; and which the servant had repeated since. And the whole is recorded by the Bishop of Ross, in a direct address to the Earl of Murray, that was published at the time, and never answered.

Lord Herris himself also united with Lord Boyd, to furnish the incidents mentioned in the Bishop's work (*a*). He therefore furnished the present. And the Bishop *received it immediately from him*. But there is an union of several facts in one, which has never been sufficiently attended to; and which gives us at once a fuller display of the guilt of Murray, and a fuller proof of the truth of the anecdote above.

In the very same spirit, with which Lord Herris taxed Murray at his own table with a FOREKNOWLEDGE of the murder, he afterwards taxed him in a letter of challenge to Lord Lindeſay. This Lord had been informed, that Herris had asserted in conversation, "My LORD REGENTIS GRACE, "and his cumpanie here present," Murray and his brother-commissioners in London, "were gilty of the abhominabill murthour." Herris stated his speech to be this: "Thair is of that "cumpanie present with the Earle of Murray, "gilty of that abhominabill treffoun, in the

(*a*) Appendix, No. xii.

"FOIR-

REKNOWLEDGE and consent thairto." He only alluded then, to his verbal challenge of day before. He *now* declares he meant not say. He meant, he intimates, Murray alone. *taucht*," he says, "of the PRINCIPALLIS it is of thame, subscryve the like writing ze send to me," that is, challenge him as day had done; "and I SHALL POINT NAME FURTH, and fight with SUM of the touris thairin; for metest it is, that *tratouris* wd pay for *thair awin* tressoun (a)." In all he hints at *Murray* only. *Murray himself* saw. He remembered the challenge at his own

He *therefore* saw the tendency of this. applied to Lord Leicester with "inoportune [oportune] suit," to bring him and Herrisier. Leicester sent a verbal message for purpose, to Herris. But this high-souled refused to go, unless it was to aver, prove, fight. "For the Erle of Murray," he re-upon paper, "swa lang as he mis-knawis his tie to his native Soverane, I will nether for inoportunes [importunities] nor plesour tra- Bot," and he then discloses to us a fact, as never been noticed, and yet is of very consequence in itself, "—gif it be to swer to *sic writings*, as *first* I red befor *zour curis* at Westminster, the Quenis Majestie's *missionaris*, and *ester presentit unto bir Hienes*;" ITTEN ACCUSATION OF MURRAY FOR THE DEED, which *the commissioners have not noticed*

(a) Goodall, ii. 271—272.

at all, and which the *commissioners* and their *Queen* have even united to *suppreſs for ever* ; “ I ADVOW
 “ THAME, and, with the grace of Almighty God,
 “ SHALL LEIF NA PART UNFROWIN, that trewth
 “ and honour requiris ; QUHAIROF I HAIF SENT
 “ ZOUR LORDSHIP HEIRWITH ANE COPIE,”
 which Lord Leiceſter, like the Queen and her
 commissioners, took effectual care to ſuppreſs ;
 “ as alſwa ane letter I reſſavit this day of the Lord
 “ Lyndſay, with my answer to it ;” both which,
 with the letter to himſelf, Leiceſter took care to
 preſerve. “ Gif NEED SALL REQUIRE MY AWIN
 “ PRESENCE TO ADVOW THE SAMIN, it will pleis
 “ zour Lordſhip to *adverteis this my ſervand* ; and
 “ I SALL NOCHT FAILL TO BE THAIR, at the hour
 “ appointit be zour Lordſhip, gif God ſall ſpair
 “ my lyif (a).”

The ſhare of Murray in the murder, by his
 knowledge of the intention, and his prediction of
 the act, a few hours before ; here ſtrikes upon our
 underſtandings very forcibly, from Herris’s cri-
 mination of him to his face, and from Herris’s ac-
 cuſation of him again, in a writing, read in form
 to the commissioners of Elizabeth, preſented in
 form to Elizabeth herſelf, and ſent afterwards to
 the Earl of Leiceſter. The written accuſation of
 him, no doubt, was ſubſtantially the ſame as the
 verbal one, and what the Biſhop of Roſs publiſhed
 afterwards. But how did Murray behave, under
 this powerful crimination ? He behaved pretty
 nearly, as Elizabeth, Leiceſter, and the commiſ-

(a) Goodall, ii. 273.

tioners behaved. *They* took no notice of the charge, *because they knew Murray to be guilty of it.* He took notice of it,—to crouch and cower under it. He was charged with a foreknowledge of the murder, in a formal paper read to the commissioners and presented to the Queen, about the 20th of December; as the letter noticing it is dated the 22d. He was indirectly challenged as a murderer, in Herris's reply to Lindefay of the 22d; and pointedly challenged again, in Herris's subsequent letter to Leicester of the same day. Yet he dared not to accept the repeated challenge. He wanted not courage. But he knew his own guilt. He knew also, that Herris knew it. He therefore declined the trial. He first endeavoured to accommodate the difference with Herris, and for that purpose solicited *importunately* a personal interview with him, through the mediation of Lord Leicester. But this only served to provoke a more direct challenge from Herris. And then Murray shrunk up under the consciousness of his criminality, into a sneaking and snivelling wretch. He repaired to the Queen and council. It had been "murmurit and bruitit," he said, "that ~~HE~~ and his cumpanie should be guiltie of the murthour." This report he understood, he said, "to have procedit fra the Quene's of Scotland's commissiounaris." He thus shows his knowledge of the accusation, by his endeavour to evade it. He thus substitutes a *vague, general,* and *reported* accusation of himself *and his associates,* from Mary's commissioners *at large*; in the room of a *written* one from Lord Herris, that was specifically

cifically against *him* only, that had been read by Lord Herries himself to the commissioners of Elizabeth, had been presented to Elizabeth by Lord Herries himself, and had been sent by Lord Herries himself to the Earl of Leicester. And he *be-moaned* his fate, to this very Queen and those very counsellors. "The Erle of Murray," says the register of these proceedings, "had MEANIT HIM to the Quenis Majestie and counfall (*a*)."

All this confirms the anecdote decisively concerning Murray's unguarded prediction of Darnley's death. But the whole is highly illustrated by a collateral fact; a posteriour challenge of the same nature, which this very Lord Herries sent to one, who was afterwards proved *judicially* to be guilty of the murder. He then, by a formal trumpeter, "offered to fight—with the Earl of Mortoun upon that head;" that he was "upon the councel, and consequently airt and pairt, of the King's murther." And Morton did as Murray had done before, shrink under the accusation, and decline the challenge (*b*).

The night of the ninth of February, therefore, had been previously pitched upon by Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and the others, for the night of the murder; from Bothwell's care not to destroy his own schemes of ambition, by involving Mary in the fate of her husband; and from the well-known intention of Mary, to give a ball that

(*a*) Goodall, ii. 280.

(*b*) Melvill, 100, and Crawford, 137.

ight at Holyrood-house, and so to be absent from Kirk-a-field. She forgot her intention at first. She recollected it afterwards. Had she not, she would have been reminded of it, by the grand conspirator now with her. She left Kirk-a-field with him and the others, about eleven at night. About twelve, the King retired to bed. The man, &c.

P. 269—272, *the long note † is all left out.*

P. 271, *Note, L. 30, thus.*

Bothwell himself, the great agent in this scene of, &c.

P. 274, *line last but one, thus.*

besides those above, Archibald, &c.

P. 276, *L. 3—4, thus.*

present at the conclusion of it. Morton was equally not. But both were present, &c.

—, *L. 7—8, thus.*

as well as some of the assistants to Bothwell and Douglas, in the final completion of it (*a*).

P. 278, *L. 3—4, thus.*

and all of whom, &c.

(*a*) Morton was *indited* for being present, at the *last act* of this bloody tragedy. But he was *found by the jury*, to be guilty only “of airt, pairt, *foir*knowledge, and concealing.” See Arnot, 390. and 391. And accordingly Lord Herries, who charged Murray himself with only a *foreknowledge* of the murder, charged Morton only with being “*upon the counsel*, and consequently airt and pairt, of the King’s murder” (Melvill, 100).

P. 278, L. 11—12, thus.

Somerville, and Yester, in their instructions to the Bishop of Ross himself, and to the Lords, &c.

——, *L. 25—26, thus.*

“ quhatsumever manner thay pleis.”

Camden also adds, &c.

P. 279, L. 9—10, thus.

“ they CLEARED FROM ALL SUSPICION.”

Camden however goes on in a still higher tone, thus. “ BOTHWELL also himself,” he says, “ being prisoner in Denmark,” &c.

P. 280, L. 3, thus.

many of them actors in, &c.

——, *L. 6, thus.*

many of them associates, &c.

——, *Note *, L. 8, thus.*

another deposition of *this very* Crawford's, &c.

——, ——, *at the end, thus.*

the scale. These dying declarations accordingly appear, to have laid open the whole mystery of iniquity to the loyal party of Scotland, and to have first informed some of the principals in it, concerning the real murderer. The Bishop of Ross, Lord Hennis, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, say they knew not “ quha wer devyfaris, inventaris, or executouris, of the samin [murder],” “ quhill it was publictlye revelit lang thairefter, “ be sum of the executouris, quha sufferit deid “ [death] thairfoir” (Goodall, ii. 308).

P. 281,

P. 281, L. 1—2, *thus*.

but who else were concerned with Bothwell, in
ing the mine? He had, &c.

——, L. 17, *thus*.

he murder. Who were the, &c.

——, L. *last but one, and last, thus*.

presence of these or of the Earl, the presence
his servants, &c.

P. 283, *Note*, L. 3—4, *thus*.

raving of Vertue's from two paintings at the
e, each the counterpart of the other (see i.
t). This duplicate painting takes up the rebel
of the day, &c.

P. 284, L. 1, *thus*.

it. Mary, as standing near it, and as the house
ts provost, &c.

——, L. 12, *thus*.

ne hous quhilum of auld preiftis," or "vete-
um sacerdotum ædes," &c.

P. 289, L. 1, *thus*.

ry's future life. The original projectors of,

——, L. 18, *thus*.

re Elizabeth, equally with them an original
jector of the murder probably, broke *at once*,

——, L. 30—33, *thus*.

confederacy with the wretched band of mur-
ers, and of malignity against the honourable

character of Mary, by publishing the known forgeries as genuine writings; and so opening new source of calumny against Mary, which, &c

P. 299, L. 16, thus.

haunt us still at times. Or they *may* have perished in that sweeping fire, which in Decemb 1758 consumed the castle of Douglas, the seat of the Earl of Angus in 1581, the seat of the Marquis of Douglas in 1660; and consumed with the greatest part of the furniture, paintings, and *papers* in it.

P. 300, L. 14—17, thus.

weak enough to think or artful enough to innuinate, they would be so treated by him; when she endeavoured to recover the fugitive piece that she had so readily dismissed before. And she and our two historians were influenced undoubtedly to think or to hint so, &c.

P. 303, L. 10, thus.

And I shall now subjoin some dissertations to them, &c.

P. 303—

P. 303—304, No. I. and II. thus.

No. I.

ACT OF SECRET COUNCIL.

“Apud Edinburgh, quarto die mensis Decembris,
“Anno Dom. 1567.”

N. B. As there are some variations between this and the next record, I have marked them with Italicks in both. And I have broken both into paragraphs.

“The which daie my Lorde Regentis Grace,
“the Lordes of Secrete Counsale, and uthers, Baronis, and men of jugement above written, being convenit in counsale: it was proponit unto them, that the parliament now approchis, wheir in the cause of the apprehension and reteneing of the Quene, our Soverane Lords moder, mon be debaitit, reffonit, and tryit; and if found and declarit, qhither the noblemen and others, quhilkis tuke armes before the saied apprehension, and whiche joyned with them and assisted them at that time or ony wise sensyne, has donne the dewetie of noblemen, and subjectis, and nawise offendit nor transgressit the lawes in that *fact*, or anie thing depending thiron, outhir preciding or followinge the same, *or not*; and in caise it be found, that they have not offendid, but done their dewtie, how and be what meane
“a full

“ a full and perfect law and securitie maie be ob-
 “ tanit and maid for all them, that other be deid,
 “ counsaie, or subscription hes enterit in that cause
 “ sen the beginnunge.

“ The matter being largelie and with gud deli-
 “ beracion ressonit at great length, and upon son-
 “ dry daies; at last all the saied Lords, Barronis,
 “ and others above expremitt, can find no other
 “ way or moeyen how to find or make the saied
 “ securitie, but be oppynyng and reveling of the
 “ trewth and grund of the haill matter fra the
 “ beginnunge plainlie and uprichtlie, quilk (in sa
 “ far as the manifestation theirow maie tend to the
 “ dishonor or defestimation of the Quene) they air
 “ maist loith to entre in, for that luif they beare
 “ unto hir person, wha somtime was their Sove-
 “ raine, and for the reverence of his Majestie,
 “ whais moder she is, as alsua thay mony gude
 “ and excellent gifts and virtues quharewith God
 “ sometimes indowit hir, gif otherwise the sinceri-
 “ tie of their intentions and procedings from the
 “ beginnunge myt be known to forrein nacions,
 “ and the inhabitantes of this ile (of whome mony
 “ yit remains in suspence in judgement) satisfiet
 “ and resolvit of the richtnesness of their quarrel,
 “ and the securitie of them and their posteritie be
 “ ony other meane myght be providit and esta-
 “ blished.

“ But sen God will suffer no wickidnes to be
 “ hid, and that all actions, otherwise foundat nor
 “ on the simple and nakit trewth, what apper-
 “ ance that evir they have, has na continewance
 “ nor

“ nor stabilitie (*a*); theirfore the Lords of Se-
 “ crete Counsaile, Barronis, and men of judge-
 “ ment above expremitt, desires it to be found and
 “ declarit be the estates and haill body of the par-
 “ liament, that the cause and occasion of the
 “ *previe* conventionis and messages of the Erles,
 “ Lords, Noblemen, and Baronis, and others
 “ faithfull and trew subjects; and consequentlie
 “ their taking of armes, and cominge to the
 “ fields with oppin and displait baneris; and
 “ the cause and occasion of the tacking of the
 “ Quene’s person upon the 15th daie of Junii
 “ last bypast, and holding and deteininge of the
 “ same within the hous and *place* of Lochlevin
 “ continewallie sensyne, presentlie, and in all
 “ tymes comyng; and generallie all other things
 “ inventit, spokin, writtin, or donne be them or
 “ anny of them, sen the tent daie of February
 “ last bypast (upon quilk daie umqle *King Henrie*,
 “ the Quene’s lawfull husband, and our Sove-
 “ reine Lord the King’s dearest father, was
 “ shamefully and horiblie murtherit) unto the
 “ daie and date *beirof*, toweching the saied Quene
 “ hir person; that caus, and all things depending
 “ theiron, or that anie wife maie apperteine their-
 “ to, the intromissioun *with the* disponsinge upon
 “ hir propertie, casualties, or *other thing whatso-*
 “ *ever* perteing, or myght pertene, to hir; wes
 “ in the saied Quene’s awin default, in a [as] far
 “ as be DIVERS HIR PREVIE LETTRES WRITTIN
 “ AND SUBSCRIVIT WITH HIR AWEN HAND,

(*a*) What a double hypocrisy have we here!

“ and

“ and sent by hir to James Erll Boithwell, cheiffe
 “ executor of the said horrible murder, awell [as
 “ well] before the comitting theirow as thereafter;
 “ and be hir ungodlie and dishonorable proceed-
 “ inge in a *priveit* mariage soddanlie and unpro-
 “ vilitie yarefter, it is most certeine, that she
 “ was previe, art and part, *and* of the actuall
 “ devise and deid of the *foir-mencionit* murther
 “ of the Kinge, hir lawchfull husband, our So-
 “ vereine Lorde’s father, comittit by the said
 “ James Erll Boithuill, his complices and par-
 “ takers; and theirfore justlie deservis whatsoever
 “ hes bin *attemptit or shal be usit toward hir* for
 “ the said caus.

“ Whiche murtheir although be mony indirect
 “ and colorat meanes she and the said Erll zaid
 “ about to collour, and to hold bak the know-
 “ lege of the trewith *theirow*, yit all men in their
 “ harts were fully perswaided of the authors and
 “ devisers of that mischevous and unworthie
 “ fact, awaiting quhill God shuld move the harts
 “ of som to enter in the quarrell *of* reveng of
 “ the same; and, in the meaine time, a great
 “ part of the nobillitie, upon just feire to be
 “ handillit and demanit in seamblable manner,
 “ as the King had bene of befoire, persavinge
 “ the Quene so thrall and *bludy* affectionat to
 “ the privat appetite of that tyran, and that she
 “ and he had conspired togider sic horrible cru-
 “ elties, being theirwith garnysit with a companie
 “ of ungodlie and vicious persons redy to ac-
 “ complishe all their unlawchfull commaund-
 “ ments, of whome he had a sufficient number
 “ conti-

“ continewallie awaiting upon him for the same
 “ effect; all noble and vertuous men abhorring
 “ their *traine* and companie, but chiefly suspect-
 “ ing that they, who had sa treffonable put
 “ doune and destroit the father, suld make the
 “ innocent Prince, his only sonne, and the prin-
 “ cipall and almost onlie comfort sent be God to
 “ this afflictit nacion, to tast of the same coupe,
 “ as the mony inventit purposes to pas where he
 “ wes, and where the noblemen *in that opin con-*
 “ *fusion prevelie reposit themselves*, gave sufficient
 “ warning and declaracion.

“ Quheirfore the seid Erlls, Lordes, Barronis,
 “ and utheris faiethfull and trewe subjects, tak-
 “ ing armes or otherwise whatsumever joyning and
 “ assisting in the said action, in the said conven-
 “ tionis, *taking armes*, displaing of banners, com-
 “ ing to the feilds, taking and reteining of the
 “ Quene’s person, aswell in times bypast as heir-
 “ efter, and all other things *movid* or done be
 “ them or anie of them touching that caus, and
 “ all things depending theiron, or that oniewise
 “ maie apperteine theirto; the intromission *with*
 “ or disponinge upon hir propertie, casualties,
 “ or other things whatsumever perteining or
 “ myght perteine to hir; wes *awnterlie* [aluterlie]
 “ in default of hir selfe and the saied Erll
 “ Boithuill, and be the horrible murther *and*
 “ *crueltie* of our Sovereign Lord’s father, con-
 “ spiryt, devisit, comittit, and concelit be them,
 “ colorit, and not condignlie punist, be them
 “ *and theire persitt counsaile*: and that the saied
 “ Erles, Lords, Barronis, and others *faithfull*

“ *and trewe* subjects, convenit at ony conven-
 “ cions efter the saied murther, for furthering of
 “ the triall theirow, and als they and all others
 “ that weire on the filds, tuke armes, *tuke*, held,
 “ kepit, *and* detenit, presentlie holds, keipis,
 “ *and* detens hir person, or fall heirafter, or that
 “ hes joynit and assistit them in that quarrell
 “ *sensyne*, and towching the haill premisses; ar,
 “ wer, and shall be, innocent, fré, and quit of
 “ the fame, and of all accion and cause, criminall
 “ *or* civile, that maie be intentit or persewit agains
 “ them or anie of them theirfore, in time com-
 “ inge: and that a parte of the Thre Estats for-
 “ saieds, Prellats, Bushoppes, Greit Barrons,
 “ and Burgeffes, gif thair felis heirupon, to be
 “ usit as shal be thought maist expedient be
 “ them, for the honor of the realme, and securitie
 “ of the noblemen and otheris having entrit [in-
 “ tereft] in the caus.

“ JAMES, Regent.

“ MORTON, Chancellair.

“ GLENCARNE.

“ ERROLL.

“ BOWCHANE.

“ ALEX. Lord HOME.

“ RUCHVEN.

“ Lord SIMILL.

“ JOHN GLAMISS.

“ PATRICK Lord LINDSAY.

“ PAT. Lord GRAY.

“ JOHN Lord GRAHAME.

“ UCHILTIRE.

“ INNER-

- " INNERMETH.
- " ADAM ORCHADEN.
- " ROBERT, Commendator of DUM-
- " FERLING.
- " ALEXANDER, Commendator of
- " CULROSS.
- " Sir JAM. BALFOR.
- " JA. MAKGILL.
- " HEN. BALNAVES.
- " W. MAITLAND.
- " DRUMLANERK.
- " CONINGHAMEHEID.
- " JOHN ERSKAN of DUN.
- " WM. KIRKALDEY.
- " JO. WISHERT of PETARRO.
- " JAMES HALYBURTON.
- " CRAIGMILLAIR (*a*)."

— No. II. —

ACT OF MURRAY'S PARLIAMENT,
Dec. 15—29, 1567, c. xix.

" ITEM, anent the artickle proponit be the
 " Erlis, Lordis, and uther Nobillmen, quha tuik
 " armis at Carbarrie Hill, upon the xv. day of
 " Junii last bypast; and anent thair conveningis

(*a*) Goodall, ii. 62—66, and Haynes, 453—455. Mr.
 Goodall's copy not being strictly accurate, I have corrected
 it by Haynes's.

" of

“ of befoir, and of the cause of the apprehensioun
 “ of the Quene, mother to our Souverane Lord;
 “ and quhiddel the saidis nobillmen and utheris,
 “ quhilkis tuik armis of befoir hir said apprehen-
 “ sioun, and quhilkis joynit with thame and assistit
 “ thame at that tyme or *ony wayis* sēnsyne, hes
 “ done the dewtie of nobillmen, good *and trew*
 “ subjectis of this realme, and na wayis offendit
 “ nor transgressit the lawis in that *effect*, or ony
 “ thing depending theirupon, outhir preceding
 “ or following the famin :

“ OUR SOVERANE LORD, with avise of
 “ my Lord Regent and thré estatis and haill body
 “ of this present parliament, hes fundin, declairit,
 “ *and concludit*, and be this present act findis, de-
 “ clairis, *and concludis*, that the cause and occa-
 “ sioun of the conventiounis and messāgis of the
 “ saidis Erlis, Lordis, Nobillmen, Barronis, and
 “ utheris faithfull and trew subjectis, and conse-
 “ quentlie thair taking of armis, and coming to
 “ the feildis with oppin and displayit banneris;
 “ and the cause and occasioun of the taking of
 “ the *said* Quenis person, upon the said xv. day
 “ of Junii last bypast, and halding and detening
 “ of the famin within the housis and *fortalice* of
 “ Lochlevin continuallie sēnsyne, presentlie, and
 “ in all tyme cuming; and generallie all uther
 “ thingis inventit, spokin, writtin, or done, be
 “ thame or ony of thame *to that effect*, sen the
 “ tent day of Februar last bypast, upon the
 “ quhilk day umquhile *Henry King*, than the said
 “ Quenis lauchfull husband, and our Souverane
 “ Lord the Kingis derrest father, was tressona-
 “ blic,

" blie, schamefullie, and horrible murthourit,
 " unto the day and dait of *this present act*, and
 " *in all tymes to cum*; tuiching the said Quente,
 " *and detening* of hir person; that *the* caus, and
 " all thingis dependand thairon, or that ony wayis
 " may pertene theiirto, the intronissoun or dis-
 " poning upon hir propertie, casualteis or quhat-
 " *sumever thing* pertening or *that ony ways* mycht
 " pertene to hir, was in the said Quehis awin
 " default, in *sa* far as be DIVERS HIR PREVIE
 " LETTERIS WRITTEN HALELIE WITH HIR
 " AWIN HAND, and send be hir to James *sum-*
 " *tyme* Erle of Bothwell, cheif executour of the
 " said horribill murthour, as weill befoir the com-
 " mitting thairof as thairefter, and be hir ungod-
 " lie and dis-honourabill proceding to ane *pre-*
 " *tendit* mariage with him, suddandlie and un-
 " provisitlie thairefter, it is maist certane, that
 " scho was previe, airt and pairt, of the actual
 " devise and deid of the *foirnamit* murthour of
 " the King hir lauchfull husband, and father to
 " our Soverane Lord, committit be the said
 " James *sumtyme* Erle of Bothwell, his complices
 " and partakeris; and thairfoir justlie deservis
 " quhat *sumever* hes bene *done* to hir *in ony tyme*
 " *bygaine*, or *that sall be usit towardis* hir for the
 " said cause *in tyme cuming*, quibilk *sall be usit*
 " *be advise of the nobilitie* (a):

" *In respect* that our said Soverane Lordis mo-

(a) This inserted clause betrays a suspicion in Murray's parliament, that Murray meant, under the *general* terms of the *act of council*, to have murdered Mary.

Q

" ther,

“ ther, with the said James *sumtyme* Erle of
 “ Bothwell, zeid about be indirect and colouri
 “ menis, to colour and hald back the knowledg
 “ of the treuth of the *committaris of the said cryme*
 “ zit all men in thair hartis war fullelie perswadi
 “ of the authouris and devyfaris of that mischev
 “ ous and unworthie fact, awaiting quhill God
 “ sould move the hartis of sum to enter in the
 “ querrell for revengeing of the samin; and, in
 “ the mene tyme, *ane* greit pairt of the nobilitie
 “ upon just feir to be handlit and demanit in sem
 “ blabill maner, as the King had bene of befoir
 “ persaving *alswa* the Quene sa thrall and *swa*
 “ *blindlie* affectionat to the private appetyte of
 “ that tyrane, and that *baitb* he and scho had
 “ conspirt togidder sic horrible crueltie, being
 “ thairwithall garnissit with *an* cumpanie of un
 “ godlie and vitious personis, reddy to accom
 “ plishe all their unlauchfull commandementis,
 “ of quhome he had ane sufficient number, con
 “ tinuallie awaiting upon him for the samin effect;
 “ all nobill and vertuous men abhorring thair *ty*
 “ *rannie* and cumpanie, bot chiefly suspecting that
 “ thay, quha had so tressonablie put downe and
 “ destroyit the father, sould mak the innocent
 “ Prince, his onlie sone, and the principall and al
 “ maist onlie confort send be God to this affliction
 “ nation, to taist of the samin coup, as the mony
 “ inventit purposis to pas quhair he was (a),

(a) This allegation refutes itself, by its infinite absurdity
 What “purposis” needed the *Queen* to “invent,” for seeing
 her son?

“ and

“and als wa *qubair the nobillmen war in be thair*
 “*oppin confusoun*, gaif sufficient warning and de-
 “claratioun :

“*Quhair-throw* the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Bar-
 “ronis, and utheris faithfull and trew subjectis,
 “taking armis, or utherwyse quhatsumever joyn-
 “ing and assisting in the said actioun, *and in*
 “the saidis conventiounis, displaying baneris, *and*
 “cuming to the feildis, taking and reteneing of the
 “Quenis person, asweill in tymes bypast as heir-
 “*ester, and all utheris that bes thairefter or fall*
 “*in ony time cuming adjoyne to thame*, and all things
 “done be thame or ony of thame tuiching that
 “cause, and all *utber* thingis depending thairon,
 “or that ony wayis may appertene thairto; the
 “intromissoun or disponsing upon hir propertie, or
 “casualiteis, or quhatsumever uther thingis per-
 “teneing or *ony wayis* micht appertene to hir;
 “was in default of himself and the said *James sum-*
 “*tyme Erle of Bothwell*, and be the horribill *and*
 “*cruell* murther of our said Soverane Lordis *um-*
 “*qubile* derrest father, conspyrit, devyfit, com-
 “mittit, conseilit, *and colourit* be thame, and not
 “condignelie puneist *according to the laws*: and
 “that the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, and
 “utheris *trew and faithfull* subjectis, convening at
 “ony conventioun *bygaine, and now presentlie* efter
 “the said murthour, for furthering of the tryell
 “thairoff; and als thay and all utheris that war
 “on the feildis, tuik armis, *apprehendit*, held,
 “keipit, *or detenit, or presentlie haldis, keipis,*
 “*or detenis* hir person, or fall thairefter, or that
 “has joynit or assistit or *fall in ony time beir-*
 “*ester*

“ *after joyne to thame in that querrell, tuicheing*
 “ *the premisses ; ar, war, and fall be, innocent,*
 “ *fré, and acqyte, of the samin, and of all acti-*
 “ *oun and cause criminall and civil, that may be*
 “ *intentit or perfewit aganis thame or ony of thame*
 “ *thairfoir, in ony tyme cuming : and that ane*
 “ *pairt of the thré estatis foirlaidis, Prelatis, Bis-*
 “ *chopis, Greit Barronis, and Burgeffis, gif thair*
 “ *seillis thairupon, to be usit as fall be thocht*
 “ *maist expedient be thame, for the honour of*
 “ *the realme, and security of the nobill-men and*
 “ *utheris, havand enteres [interest] in the said*
 “ *cause : and decernis this declaratioun to be na*
 “ *wayis prejudiciall to the issue of our Soverane*
 “ *Lordis mother, lauchfullie cumin of hir body, to*
 “ *succeid to the crowne of this realme (a), nor thair*
 “ *airis (b). ”*

WE have here a most extraordinary clashing between these two records, in the description

(a) This forms a second guard against the ambition of Murray. He thought of no such clause in the act of council. The parliament therefore suspected, that he had a design upon the succession. And they added this clause, to bar his design. Yet all would have been in vain. No legal ties could have held in this ravening beast of prey, now couching to spring upon his object. Notwithstanding the clause preceding in favour of the *mother*, he was meditating her murder when she escaped from Lochlevin (Anderson, iv. part. i. 31). And, notwithstanding this present clause in favour of the *son*, we may be very sure he would have removed him out of the way. His sudden death, no doubt, saved the throne, the life, or both, of the young child.

(b) Goodall, ii. 66—69.

which

which each gives of the letters. The act of council describes them, as “written and subscribed” by Mary; and the act of parliament, only as “written wholly” by her. This decisive evidence of a most substantial variation in the letters, has greatly perplexed the writers in opposition to Mary; ever since Mr. Goodall first produced it against them. Mr. Hume, therefore, laboured much to repel the force of it, by having recourse to a supposed blunder in the clerk penning the act of council; who meant the word “written” for the letters, he *supposes*, and the word “subscribed” for—*the second contract*; but erroneously applied both to the letters. This ridiculous *fallacy of disjunction*, as the logicians term an argument of a somewhat similar nature, being properly exposed by Mr. Tytler, as a supposition in the very face of fact; the Miscellaneous Remarker, *praising Mr. Hume’s as he passes along*, advances up with another, and ascribes the words to a different sort of blunder in the clerk; who finding “written and subscribed” generally united together,—in some writings that concern *the sub and pri volvani of the moon (a)*, mechanically added “subscribed” to “written.” This and the other extravagance of apology, I have held up before to the universal contempt of mankind. And Dr. Robertson, suspicious (as it seems) of the foolishness of both, *praises both*, and—proceeds to a third. This humour, so distinguishable

(a) See Butler’s Genuine Remains, by my late friend, the ingenious Mr. Thyer, i. 5, 6, &c.

in these champions for usurpation, of *praising* one plan and *pursuing* another, is quite in the style of Virgilian husbandry :

Laudato ingentia rura,
Parva tene.

On this plan, however, Dr. Robertson still ascribes the confounding words to a blunder. They must necessarily arise from a blunder somewhere, because they press so fore upon the *honourable* cause of rebellion, calumnation, and forgery. "The stars in their courses" can never fight against these *honest* Philistines. But the blundering clerk is now changed into the blundering transcriber. And as we have only a *copy* of this act of council, says Dr. Robertson; the copier of it "has been manifestly so ignorant or so careless, that an argument, founded entirely on the supposition of his accuracy, is of little force (*a*)."
I shall therefore examine this plea, the last (I believe) that will ever be brought, against so plain a proof of forgery in the rebels; and show it in all its absurdity, to the staring eyes of the world.

This act of council is taken from a copy, *in a repository wholly favourable to the rebels*. It is taken, says Dr. Robertson himself, from "a copy of it found among CECIL's papers (*b*)."
The copy therefore was given in, *by the rebels themselves*. Coming from *them*, we cannot doubt its agreement in any point that is *unfriendly* to them, with the lost original in the books of privy coun-

(*a*) Hist. ii. 367—368. edit. xith.

(*b*) P. 367.

And the rebels cannot hope for better treatment, even from a friend ; than to be tried by their own and Cecil's papers.

Thus authenticated in general, what particular objections *can* the good Doctor make to its veracity? He produces three passages out of it, which he *thinks* to be proofs of "carelessness" or of "ignorance," and which he *hopes* will invalidate its authority. From such an argument of invalidation, few records perhaps could be safe. But Dr. Robertson minds not consequences, in his zeal of hostility against a paper, which was so unfortunately furnished by the rebels, and so unluckily preserved by Cecil. He would willingly shake the whole globe, if he could but trample this paper under his feet. And yet his efforts are as weak, as his spirit is strong.

— I. —

The act of council calls the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, "a priveit" one; when in fact, says Dr. Robertson, it was a publick one, and in the act of parliament is only called, "ane *pretendit* marriage." Yet, even upon the Doctor's own state of *facts* in his *history*, the marriage might properly be called a *private* one. Here indeed, in his *dissertation*, in order to serve his *present* purpose, the Doctor says, "it certainly was *not*" a private marriage; "for it was celebrated, after proclamation of banns in St. Giles's church three several days, and with public solemnity (a)." But let

(a) P. 368.

us turn to his *narrative*. There we find *this* account of the marriage. "The ceremony was performed," he *there* says, "in public, according to the rites of the Protestant church—; and *on the same day* was celebrated *IN PRIVATE*, according to the forms prescribed by the Popish religion (*a*).” And the Doctor is convicted by his own confession.

This assertion of his, however, is founded upon the credit of two papers formed by the rebels, "Anderson, i. 136, ii. 276." I have replied to both before, and shown the falsity of the second marriage in both (*b*). But as the rebels averred Mary to have been married to Bothwell, once in the Protestant and once in the Popish manner; and as the Protestant celebration of the marriage was certainly a *publick* one, being known to be very indecently performed in the *council-chamber* of the palace, preferably to the *chapel* of it (*c*); the Popish one has therefore been affirmed to be *private*. Nor does the Doctor vary at all his *narration of facts*, even in his *last* edition; however he may chuse to shift his ground for convenience, in *his train of reasonings* there. His *narration* is still the same as before (*d*). And the marriage may, even upon *his own retained account* of it, be as properly called a *private* marriage, as a *publick* one.

It is really called a *private* one, we see, by the act of council. The rebels have thus lent some

(*a*) i. 420. edit. ivth.

(*b*) iii. 128.

(*c*) Melvill, 8th ed.

(*d*) See i. 435. edit. xith.

little countenance to the manner, in which our later historians have too freely celebrated the two marriages of the rebels. It only denominates the whole, from the *private* celebration; just as the Doctor, to bolster up an argument here, would wish to denominate it from the publick. But when the act of parliament came to be drawn up from the act of council, the asserted *privateness* of the marriage was thought fit to be discarded. Either it was considered as implying a false fact, in the private and Popish marriage of the Queen; and so was rejected upon the principles, on which I have rejected it before. Or, which is more probable in such convicted falsifiers, it was observed to militate directly against the rebel journal; which avers the Queen and Bothwell, to have been "*publickly* marrit efter *baith* the fortis "*of the kirkis, reformat and un-reformat (a).*" And "*priveit*" was now changed into "*pre-tendit.*"

We have thus a compleat refutation of Dr. Robertson's remark. But we have more. We have also the rebel act of council, asserting the marriage to have been a *private* one; and the rebel journal affirming it to have been a *publick* one. Nor is this contradiction to be accounted for, by referring one assertion to the publick celebration, and ascribing the other to the private. No! the journal precludes this reconciliation of the jarring authorities. The journal avers the marriage to have been *publick*, in *both* celebra-

(a) Appendix, No. x.

tions. It thus takes away all *possibility* of *private-ness* in the whole. And the two papers stand looking at each other, just as Dr. Robertson's *history* and *dissertation* do also at present; facing each the other with eyes of hostility, and manifesting to the world the artificialness and the falsehood of both.

— II. —

We have likewise in the act of council these words, describing the Queen to be "so thrall and "*bludy* affectionat to" Bothwell; and in the act of parliament these, "swa thrall and swa *blindly* "affectionat to" him. This variation is accordingly produced by Dr. Robertson, as another evidence—of what?—of "carelessness" or of "ignorance" in the copier of the act of council, though a rebel himself, and the agent of rebels; and as destroying, by its "nonsense," all possible confidence in the justness of his copy.

Why has not Man a microscopick eye?
For this plain reason, Man is not a Fly.

But prejudice can reduce him to the one, and so supply him with the other. It has here done so, by Dr. Robertson. Nothing but the petty optics of a fly, could have viewed this variation as of moment, and so have aggrandized a grain of sand into a mountain.

"Bloody" is an adjective of power affixed *yet*, as we all know, to any word that vulgar language wants to heighten. In such language a man is
"bloody"

“bloody” cruel, “bloody” fond, or “bloody” affectionate; even in *England*, and in *our own days*. And the word was superseded afterwards in the act of parliament, by “*blindly* affectionat;” in the same spirit of correction from the pen of James Macgill, by which he equally changed the “priveit” of Alexander Hay, into his own “pre-tendit.” He altered “priveit,” no doubt, for the sake of the fact included in it. He altered “bludy” probably, because of its vulgarity.

So ridiculous are both these arguments, even as proofs of “ignorance” or “carelessness” only! So peculiarly contemptible are they both, as evidences of a “carelessness” and an “ignorance,” that carry the tremendous power with them, of annihilating the very credit of the record, in which they are found. But the third and only remaining argument, is still more contemptible and ridiculous.

— III. —

In the act of council we read these words, “all “noble and vertuous men abhorring their [the “Queen’s and Bothwell’s] *traine* and companie.” The last words, says Dr. Robertson, either have “no meaning” or are “a mere tautology.” A meaning they certainly have. The honest part of the nation is said, to have abhorred “the train and “company,” that is, the retinue and attendants, of Mary and her husband. There is no want of intelligence, whatever there may be of truth, in all this. Nor is the language any more tautological, than

than it is in a thousand modes of expression, they occur daily in conversation, and are admitted constantly into composition. But, even if it would a *tautology* blast the credibility of a record and make the parchment shrivel up into paper. Then not a single record could escape. And the multiplied tautologies of the *law* particularly would come like a still more furious KNOX with a still wilder band of his FANATICKS, and destroy all the legal records of the kingdom.

But, as Dr. Robertson adds, the last words of the clause run thus in the act of parliament, "at horring thair *tyrannie* and cumpanie." Macgi has again been busy, in correcting the language of Hay. He considered Hay to be much beneath him, in a just propriety of writing. He therefore took liberties with his words. He altered "priveit" into "pretendit," and "bludy" into "blindly." But, in neither of these alterations did he keep steadily to the sense of the original. "Pretendit" is very different in signification from "priveit," and unites not with the context, which imports the marriage to be *real* as well as *secret*. The Queen, says the act of council, is proved to be guilty by the letters, "and be hir ungodlie and dishonorable proceedinge in a *priveit* marriage foddanlie and unprovisitlie yarefter." But the act of parliament infers her to be guilty, by the letters, "and be hir ungodlie and dishonourable proceeding to ane *pretendit* marriage with him fuddandlie and unprovisitlie thairefter:" where the *pretendedness* of the marriage, is introduced with an injudicious violence into the text; and the
guilt

guilt, inferred from her *real* marriage with the murderer, is half of it dashed aside, by calling the marriage a *pretended* one. Nor are the ideas, designed to be expressed by “so *thrall* and *bludy* “*affeccionat*,” properly preserved in “*swa thrall* “and *blindly* *affeccionat*,” the aggravating force of the word “*bludy*” being lost, and a new idea of *blindness* being substituted in its room. Just so he has also acted, in changing “*traine*” into “*tyrannie*.” He has again thrust a new idea into the clause. And he has again thrust in one, that cannot incorporate with the rest.

The real meaning is obviously this: that the Queen and Bothwell had, as the words preceding tell us expressly, “a companie of ungodlie and vicious persons” about them; and that, as the next words add, “all noble and vertuous men, abhorring thaire *traine* and companie,” that is, abhorring this very “*companie* of ungodlie and vicious persons,” did do as the words subsequent tell us, “prevelie reposit themselves” at Stirling, where the Prince was. *Here* the sense is complete. It has nothing foreign or adventitious within it. But *there* it has. It has *tyrannie*; which bears no relation to the words before, concerning the ungodly company about the court; and which carries no connection with the words afterward, concerning the retirement to Stirling. And what compleats the whole, though “the *traine* and companie” of Bothwell and the Queen, *might* be avoided by *retiring to Stirling*; yet the “*tyrannie* “and companie” of them certainly *could not*.
The

The *tyranny* could be avoided only by retiring out of the kingdom.

— IV. —

Such are the mean and low arguments, that Dr. Robertson is obliged to raise from the dirt, in the general distress of the rebel cause. James II in an embarrassing want of money, coined half-crowns of copper; and made what was worth a penny, to stand for thirty times its value. Nor would such money need a proclamation, to cry it down. Yet a proclamation was issued, I think, in the plenitude of attention to the publick weal. I have been acting upon the same principle of attention. I have been crying down arguments, that could never have passed current. I have been exposing as sophistry, what was too obvious sophistry to need a particular exposure. Yet a vindication of Mary should rather run out into superfluity, than stop short in defectiveness. To do so, is a proper compliment to the growing candour of the publick. The friends of Mary cannot be too attentive to this. For that reason, I have been carefully lifting up the veil, that party is now hanging before the face of the rebels; in order to let the publick see at once, the shame apparent there, and the endeavours used by their partisans to hide it. And I shall go on to do the work still more, for the sake of the same publick; which has been long abused in its faith by the bold fictions of the rebels, and is daily recovering from the influence of their impositions.

There

There are other variations in these two records, which the Doctor has *not* noticed. There are some in *favour* of his own hypothesis. I shall mention one of them. I shall thus act in a strain of generosity, that the enemies of Mary have never deserved, but the cause of Mary very naturally suggests. In the act of council we have these words, "unto the daie and date heirof, towelching the said Quene hir person, that caus, and all" &c.; which, in the act of parliament, are taken out of their unmeaningness and disorder, and formed into this clear sense, "the day and dait of this present act, and in all times to cum, tuiching the said Quene, and detening of hir person; that the caus, and all" &c. Here we have such an instance of erroneoufness, as a transcriber "ignorant" or "careless" *might* make. But alas! we have the same sort of erroneoufness, in the very *act of parliament* itself; though the Doctor has been all inattentive to it. I shall mention just as many instances of this, as he has mentioned of the other. In the act of council is the clause, "nawise offendit nor transgressit the laws in that *fact*, nor anie thing depending thairon;" which in the act of parliament is mended the wrong way thus, "na wayis offendit nor transgressit the lawis in that *effect*, or ony thing depending thairupon." In the former we have these words, "was *awnterlie* [or *aluterlie*] in default of hirselfe;" which in the latter is simply thus, "was in default of hirself," the strong word *aluterlie*, or wholly, being omitted. In the former we have also this regular thread of meaning, "the mony inventit purposes to pas
" where

“ where he [the young Prince] wes, and wher
 “ the noblemen in that opin confusion prevel:
 “ reposit themselfis, gave sufficient warning.
 But, in the latter, it is all knit and ravelled up in
 this mass of confusion : “ the mony inventit pu
 “ posis to pas quhair he was, and als wa quhair th
 “ nobillmen war in be thair oppin confusioun, ga
 “ sufficient warning.” And shall we then tur
 the Doctor’s battery against himself, play upon the
 inaccuracy, and so endeavour to knock down the
 authority, of the act of parliament ? We may d
 so, as we have only one cotemporary copy, eithe
 of this or of the other ; and if we chuse to ac
 upon the military maxims of Dr. Robertson. Bu
 we do not chuse. We leave such objections a
 these, *to those to whom they belong*, the enemies of
 Mary. For *our* part, “ tædet harum formarum
 “ quotidianarum.” Let *some* wits, like witches
 stumble upon straws, in their zeal against Mary
 And let *us* be content to remark, that they are
 such wits only, as, seeing truth immediately before
 them, chuse rather to stumble than to reach it.

Dr. Robertson’s understanding indeed, when-
 ever he touches upon a capital point concerning
 Mary, seems to be bound up as by a spell of witch-
 craft. His prejudice is that spell. But its influ-
 ence is peculiarly strong. It reduces the reasoner
 into the sophist. It degrades the thinker into the
 talker. And, what is infinitely more, it sinks the
 man of dignity, of honour, and of religiousness,
 into the tricker and juggler of a party.

I thus speak with spirit against Dr. Robertson.
 Yet I speak not with spleen. I would exhibit him,

just as he appears to my judgment, as unfair, disingenuous, and dishonourable; as bent and bowed by the force of his prejudices, in spite of the solidity of his understanding; as seduced by his political passions, in opposition to his generous feelings; as yielding to temptations, which he hardly wished to resist; and as acting with an obliquity, that he half-sees and half-overlooks at the moment. But I would not go one step beyond this. I respect him as a writer. I esteem him as a man. Nor would I even proceed so far, if I did not know it to be perfectly just in itself, and did not see it to be absolutely necessary in its consequences. Either he or Mary must be treated with severity. And could I hesitate a moment, which should be? Shall a Lady and a Queen, innocent, amiable, elegant, and dignified, suffer? Or shall a gentleman, who slandered her at first, because he had always been in the habit of slandered her; who slandered her, even when he had positive proofs of her guiltlessness before him; and who continues to slander her at present, even when he shows by his manner, that he sees those proofs, and that he feels their pointedness? No!

Let the broad axe fall where it may,
and where it ought to fall. Let the Doctor receive the chastisement, that he has merited. And let the reputation of his work be sacrificed, as it deserves to be, to the *manes* of a much-abused, a much-insulted, and a much-injured Queen (*a*).
— No.

(*a*) A new vindication of Mary has been just now imported
R among

— No. III. —

&c.

P. 314, L. 4, thus.

to deceive *himself*. A suit of divorce, prosecuted by Lady, &c.

P. 314,

among us, in a new history of Elizabeth. It is "*Histoire d'Elisabeth Reine d'Angleterre, tirée des écrits originaux Anglois, d'actes, titres, lettres, et autres pièces manuscrites qui n'ont pas encore paru. Par Mademoiselle De Keratio.*" It consists of five volumes octavo, and was printed at Paris in 1787 (v. 497, and the end). The authoress treads with gracefulness and dignity, with fairness, vigour, and judgment, though with many mistakes, that straight path of truth, which a Goodall, a Tytler, and a Stuart have trod before her. Her work, so far as concerns Mary, and Mary's concerns form a large part of it, is principally modelled upon these. In her fifth volume, which consists entirely of papers, and some calculated only for foreigners, as *Magna Charta, &c.*; are a few letters not published before, to one or two of which I have previously referred. And her whole work shows very strikingly, the strong impression which those three writers have made upon the spirits of the publick, and the spreading influence of their arguments on the continent, as well as in these islands. But I wish here to show in what manner this French authoress thinks and speaks of Dr. Robertson. I shall produce a few instances, and take them as they arise. In ii. 470 she says thus of one Robert Bruce, who published, it seems, a folio history of Scotland in 1749 (v. 486): "*il paroît avoir suivi de point en point Knox et Buchanan, et avoir imité la feinte moderation de Robertson, qui accuse perpétuellement Marie, en paroissant la plaindre et l'excuser: cet artifice est en effet plus propre à séduire, que l'emportement des deux premiers, et porte avec lui un caractère apparent d'impartialité, qui peut s'attirer d'abord la confiance du plus grand nombre.*"

P. 314, L. 10, to P. 322, L. 22, *thus*.
destroyed the whole (a).

Lady

"nombre." In iii. 200, noticing the Doctor's account of Mary's confident expectation of success, at the battle of Langside; M. Keralio observes: "on ne peut rapporter un *"fait plus faux que celui-ci."* Animadverting on Mr. Hume's following Anderson, in passing over such papers as were friendly to the Queen; she adds: "ni lui ni Robertson n'ont pris la peine de rapporter aucun détail des procédures d'York et de Westminster, pas un registre, pas une commission secrette; et ils les avoient sous les yeux: avec un pareil système, on peut être eloquent, on peut avoir un style séduisant et noble; mais on n'est pas historien" (iii. 343). Again in iii. 351: "le génie et les principes de Hume et de Robertson ont dû leur présenter la lumière de ces raisonnemens; elle n'a pu leur échapper; ils avoient les papiers sous les yeux; ils les citent eux-mêmes; mais ils les ont altérés par d'autres vues, en renversant leur ordre et leur date; et même dans ceux d'Anderson, ils se sont flattés de prouver des propositions fausses, comme si personne n'avoit dû lire après eux." In iii. 379, "Anderson et Hume ne l'ont ni rapportée ni citée" the paper in Goodall, ii. 295—297: "Robertson, plus infidèle encore, l'a faussée en plusieurs endroits." In ii. 409, "ce n'est pas
"ainsi

(a) Accordingly Dr. Robertson, in his last edition, has altered the passage thus. "Bothwell, having now got the Queen's person into his hands,—commenced a suit in *his own name* in the spiritual court—; *at the same time* he *pre-voiled* with Lady Jane to apply to the protestant court" (i. 433—434). He thus comes a little nearer to the truth, in his matter. He allows of two suits, one by Bothwell, and another by his lady. But he is as distant as ever in his manner. He still makes both to be Bothwell's in effect, and both in consequence of the seizure. And he makes Lady Bothwell still, to be in a conspiracy with her husband and the Queen, *against herself*.

Lady Bothwell's suit, then, *would* not be commenced in consequence of the seizure. In fact it was

"ainsi que Robertson raconte ces evenemens—; là, il raconte
 "les termes des accords; mais *il est aussi infidelle à la fin qu'au*
 "*commencement.*" In iii. 411, "Hume, Robertson, Anderson,
 "et Buchanan ont travaillé sciemment à deguiser la verité; les
 "uns ont alteré, falsifié les faits dont ils ont été temoins." In iii.
 446 she says of the author of "Martyre de Marie Stuart,"
 that he, "par esprit de parti, a pu s'égarer dans la cause juste,
 "comme Robertson dans l'injuste." In iii. 467 she says, "Ro-
 "bertson garde un silence aussi prudent, sur des faits qu'il ne peut
 "ni deguiser ni pallier." In iv. 126 she remarks: "Robertson
 "n'a pas craint (pag. 82) de dementir a cet egard les meilleurs
 "auteurs, et de citer, à l'appui de sa fausse assertion, la confes-
 "sion rapportée par les ministres," Morton's dying confession;
 "il dit que Morton chargea la Reine (*on a vu le contraire, et*
 "*on peut le voir encore dans la pièce originale*)—: Hume est du
 "même avis que Robertson : *cela étoit nécessaire au projet uni-*
 "*forme de ces deux auteurs.*" In iv. 181 she says, that "Ro-
 "bertson—ne faut pas s'en rapporter a lui dans les details de
 "cette affaire," a speech of Gowry's in his famous seizure of
 the King; "attaché au parti d'Elisabeth, il noircit ou justifie
 "ceux qui agissoient en Ecosse, suit toujours l'interêt qui l'anime
 "en faveur de cette princesse, jette des nuages sur la reputation de
 "Lenox," the new Earl of Lenox, "exagère les torts du Comte
 "d'Arran, et excuse la conduite des conspirateurs." And, to
 adduce only one instance more, the partisans of Elizabeth, as
 this author very justly observes in iv. 347, "ont traité avec
 "une espee d'emportement, tous ceux qui ont voulu porter
 "une nouvelle lumiere sur les faits historiques; tels ont été
 "Hume, Robertson, Buchanan, et tant d'autres moins éclairés et
 "moins superieurs; mais les hommes justes, dont le jugement
 "ne repose que sur la verité, cherchent à la connoître, à l'ap-
 "profondir, et ne mettent jamais à la place d'une estime re-
 "flechie, le feu d'une admiration exaltée." Such is the opi-
 nion of examining critics on the continent, concerning Dr.
 Robertson! His countrymen are not the only persons, who
 find themselves compelled by the force of truth, to speak

was not. It was determined upon, according to the rebel journal itself, so early as April the fifth. That day, Lady Bothwell even signed a *procuratory* for the purpose (*a*); what is now denominated a *proxy*; what our own canons, antient and modern, require, as the authoritative instrument to a proctor for commencing a suit; and what our own court of Doctors Commons invariably demands, at present. This was, therefore, the actual commencement of the suit with *her*, nineteen days before the seizure. She *then* authorized her proctor to pursue it in form. And, as the fact was well known to the Queen and all her nobles, so no doubt was made of Lady Bothwell's success by either. The divorce was considered by both, as *having in effect taken place already*. This indeed was an indelicacy in the Queen, that grates upon the feelings of a more refined age. But then it was not peculiar to her. It was the common indelicacy of the times. And the Queen only thought, as all the nation thought at the moment, and as the highest and most polished part of it formally showed they thought. The nobles, whether protestant or popish, whether attached to the Queen or combined against her, subscribed a formal paper so early as the nineteenth of April afterwards, ACTUALLY RECOMMENDING BOTH-

harshly of him. And even a lady of France, "aimable" and "en des premieres années de sa jeunesse" (see the "Appendix" at the end of volume vii), lays as heavy a hand upon the Doctor; as any sour and cynical gentleman of Britain.

(*a*) Appendix, No. x.

WELL AS A HUSBAND TO THE QUEEN. This is the strongest of all possible proofs, concerning their KNOWLEDGE of the suit begun by Lady Bothwell, and concerning their CERTAINTY of her being speedily divorced from the Earl. Their knowledge and their certainty are even *expressed*, in the bond itself; as they recommend “the marriage to be solemnizat and compleitit betwix her Hienes and the said noble lord,—at sic tyme as it fall pleise her Majestie to think it convenient, and HOW SONE THE LAWES SALL LEAVE IT TO BE DONE (a).” And Mary, in the SAME strain of knowledge, and in the SAME spirit of certainty, OBJECTED NOT HIS PRESENT MARRIAGE TO HIM; on his *insinuating* his regard for her upon April the *twentieth*, on his *avowing* it at Dunbar *afterwards*, or on his *showing* her their recommendation there. Of such notoriety, was the subscription of the proxy by Lady Bothwell! With such an assurance of a divorce, did all the principal part of the nation anticipate the consequence (b)!

(a) Anderson, i. 110. So also the commissioners at York describe the bond; as containing “a generall consent to his marriage with the Quene, so fare forthe as the lawe—shoulde allowe” (No. v. before).

(b) See a great mistake, therefore, in Sir D. Dalrymple’s (now Lord Hailes’s) Remarks, 201—202; who attributes this *negative* conduct of the Queen, to her *knowledge of the canon law* forsooth! and entirely overlooks what is so much more striking, the *positive* conduct of the nobles. Yet it is all copied by Dr. Robertson, in his late edition, i. 433—434.

They

They anticipated, not merely the divorce of Bothwell, but also his consequent marriage with another. This they recommended to be solemnized betwixt the Queen and him, "how sone" "THE LAWES fall leave it to be done." Either of the parties in a divorce, was then allowed by the laws of Scotland to marry again. The general assembly, indeed, had lately prohibited the *offending* party from re-marrying (*a*). But its prohibition was not minded. The antient law rode triumphant over the new canon. It did so, even with the kirkmen themselves; and even with that committee (as it were) of the general assembly, which resided in Edinburgh at this period. When Craig, the minister of St. Giles's, declined to publish the banns for the marriage of Mary to Bothwell, because he "durst proclame no bandis, "and chiefly sick [such], without consent and "command of the kirk;" the kirk directed him to publish the banns, though they were even those of the *convicted adulterer* himself. "The "kirk, eftir lang reassoning with the justice clark, "and amangis the breytherene, at length concluded, That the Queenis mynd *suld* be published (*b*)." This extraordinary fact, unites with the evident opinions and express declarations of all the principal persons in the nation, to show us the regular law of the land at this period. With these testimonies do the rebels expressly concur themselves, in their very forgeries; when in Lett. vi. Sect. 2. the Queen is made to speak of Both-

(*a*) Anderson, ii. 279 and 283.

(*b*) Ibid. ii. 279.

well, as soon to be “fré to mary;” and when in the *French* contract she declares herself free and ready to marry him, as soon as he is equally free, “lui estant en mesme liberté.” And all is confirmed beyond a possibility of doubt, by Mary herself; when, in her instructions for the ambassador whom she sent into France on her marriage, she directs him to tell her relations concerning Bothwell, That “albeit he was befor mareit, zit the mariage with him, the former contract and band, wes beye ordoure of law—dissolvit,—swa yat we on the ane part, and he on ye uther fyde, being bayth fré, ye mariage mycht lauchfullie and weill aneuch be acumplissit be ye lawis of yis realme (a).”

Nor was the law of England different at the time. “A divorce for adultery,” says Salkeld, “was *anciently* a vinculo matrimonii: and therefore, in the *beginning* of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the opinion of the church of England was, that, after a divorce for adultery, *the par-*

(a) Anderson, i. 100—101. Her assertion is also corroborated by her slanderer, Knox. “The ground of the divorce was, The parties, being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joined: nixt, because Bothwell was an adulterer, the marriage was void. The bill of divorce was granted by the papisticall court of the Archbischop of Sanct Androis,” and also, as he would have added if he had not been a knave, by the protestant court of commissaries. “And here mark how they juggle in sacred things,” when the protestants had been doing the very same with the papists: “for quhen it pleiseth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the first buik of this history” (p. 405).

“ties

“ *ties might marry again.* But in Foliambe’s case,
 “ H. 44. El. [1601] in the Star-chamber, *that*
 “ *opinion was changed*; and Archbishop Bancroft
 “ [Whitgift], by the advice of divines, held that
 “ adultery was only a cause of divorce a mensâ
 “ et thoro.” Or, as this case is reported more
 fully by another lawyer, “ Fuliambe,—having
 “ been divorced from his wife for incontinency on
 “ her part, married again during her life; and the
 “ second marriage was declared to be void, *be-*
 “ *cause* it was only a divorce a thoro et mensâ,
 “ and *because* Archbishop Whitgift,” who became
 archbishop in 1583 and continued till 1604, “ af-
 “ firmed that several grave divines and civilians,
 “ whom he had assembled at Lambeth to consider
 “ that point, did all agree that such marriage was
 “ void (a).”

The

(a) Burn, ii. 448. edit. 4th, and Gibson (2d edit.) 446 from
 Mo. 683. Gibson however refers in 447 to some Saxon
 canons, which seem to prove the *present* doctrine of divorces,
 to have then prevailed in our church. But, on examination,
 these appear to mean only *private* and *extra-judicial* divorces.
 See also Theodore’s Canons, A. D. 673, No. x. and Ecg-
 bright’s Excerptions, A. D. 740, No. 119—124, in Johnson’s
 Collection of Canons. “ Yet,” as Johnson remarks, “ by
 “ Theodore’s Penitential published by Petit, the *innocent* party
 “ *is permitted to marry again*—; nay, if the husband *forfeits*
 “ *his liberty for any crime*, the wife, being a free woman, is *al-*
 “ *lowed to take another man.*” One canon of the Penitential
 runs thus: “ si cujus uxor fornicata fuerit, licet *dimittere*
 “ *eam*, et accipere aliam;—*illa* verò, si voluerit penitere pec-
 “ *cata sua*, post duos annos alium accipiat virum—: si mulier
 “ *discesserit a viro*, nolens reverti et reconciliari viro, post quin-
 “ *que annos*, consensu Episcopi, *aliam liceat uxorem ducere.*”

All

The law of England, then, coincided exactly with the law of Scotland at this moment. Both considered a divorce for adultery, to be a dissolution of the marriage. Both permitted either of the parties to marry again. And Mary says accordingly in her instructions concerning her marriage with Bothwell, to her embassadour sent into *England*; that a divorce had regularly taken place "befoir oure marriage with him, and swa we mycht lauchfullie consumat ye samyn; FOR IT IS NA NEW THING, NEITHER IN SCOTLAND NOR ENGLAND (a)."

Nor was this wrong in itself. Prejudice indeed may deny the position. But let the great oracles of our religion speak to it: "Whoever shall put away his wife, EXCEPT IT BE FOR FORNICATION, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." This is clear and peremptory. Parties divorced for adultery, by the original institutes of Christianity, *may* marry again. Nor does the contrary ever seem to have been assumed as a truth, in this island; till the prudery of Puritanism broke in upon the

All shows only *private* and *extra-judicial* divorces, to be mean in all these canons. And, as Johnson adds, "our Reformers allowed a dissolution of marriage, for *desertion, long absence, mortal hatred, &c.*; and, in *all* these cases, *permitted a second marriage*. See *Reformatio Legum Eccl. de Adulterio et Divorc. c. 8, 9, 10.*" Gibson's reference also in 447, to "5 Edw. VI. 10," for an act of parliament concerning a divorce, must be some mistake of the pen or press.

(a) Anderson, i. 107.

common-

common-sense of Christendom, and drew in the Scotch first, and the English afterwards, to mold their laws in contradiction to the latter. And yet both of us have been long obliged, to come back in part to the antient doctrine of our religion, and to the antient principle of our polity ; in the awkward expedient, of making a special law for every case, of enabling one of the parties by name to marry, and of dispensing with the very laws which we suffer to remain. We so far rise superior to our new prejudices, as to see the necessity of violating our laws, in favour of the innocent at least ; and yet we so far sink under them, as to let the laws remain in their full operation against all those, the great multitude of the nation, who are not able to bear the heavy expence, of purchasing this papal kind of dispensation from the parliament.

In this state of the law of Scotland, the proctor for Lady Bothwell began the suit. A citation was issued by the commissaries of Edinborough, Robert Maitland, dean of Aberdeen, Edward Henryson, doctor of laws, Clement Little, advocate, and Alexander Syme, advocate, on the 26th ; for the appearance of Bothwell (*a*). The application of the proctor for the citation, must have been prior by one or two days at least. The order for the application, must have been many days prior. Both probably, and the latter certainly, must have been made and given before the seizure on the 24th. And the latter, as we

(*a*) Appendix, No. x.

have seen before, was actually given so very early as the 5th. But, in consequence of the citation, the first meeting was upon the 29th, the next on the 30th, and the next upon the 1st of May (*a*). Both the last days were taken up in hearing witnesses. Her plea for the divorce, was *her husband's adultery with one of her maids*, "Bessie "Crawfurde." Yet this was neither "trivial" in itself, nor "scandalous" to her. And sentence was pronounced for her, on the 3d of May (*b*).

But Bothwell also sued for a divorce. His lady's suit, though she herself was a papist, was upon good grounds and before good protestants. Yet he, though a protestant himself, applied to the ecclesiastical court of popery for a divorce. He was not doubtful of the issue of the other. Lady Bothwell was certain of a favourable sentence, if she proved (as in the universal opinion she was sure to prove) her alleged fact. But he had *now* a reason for wishing a divorce himself. He had *now* a view of marrying the Queen. This therefore had been suggested to him, only just before the grand measure of the bond; just before the bond was privately subscribed by Murray; and, consequently, just before Murray left Scotland on the 9th of April (*c*). He caught at the suggestion, probably, with eagerness. The

(*a*) Robertson, ii. 449.

(*b*) Ibid. 450. The clause of "trivial" and "scandalous," therefore, is omitted in the late edition.

(*c*) Appendix, No. x.

bond was signed by Murray, and embraced by Bothwell, in the parting evening probably before the 9th. But a divorce pronounced by the protestant commissaries, he knew, would not be considered by Mary, as equally valid with one from the regular and ecclesiastical judges. That at least, as founded on *adultery* in Bothwell, however legal, would not appear so honourable in her eyes as *this*. And we see the observation strikingly exemplified, in Mary's manner of speaking concerning the divorce afterwards; when, in her instructions to her embassadours for England and France respectively, she says the divorce of Bothwell was made "for *resolute causis of consanguinitie and utberis*," or, more fully, "we be ye ordoure of law expresseit in the canonis—" for *lauchful causis of consanguinitie, and utberis* "relevant, dissolvit (*a*)."^(a) Bothwell accordingly applied to the spiritual court. He urged the *consanguinity* of himself and his lady, being fourth cousins once removed, and never dispensed with. This was peculiarly calculated for a popish court; as the other was for a protestant one. "Apud judices regios," says Buchanan, "accusat uxor maritum adulterii, quæ una justa apud eos erat divortii causa (*b*)."^(b) And the parties *therefore* applied themselves, in this seemingly cross manner, to the protestant and the popish courts respectively.

Nor was Bothwell's suit, any more than his lady's, commenced in consequence of the seizure.

(a) Anderson, i. 107, and 110—111. (b) Hist. xviii. 356.

It was not commenced, even with a view to that incident. The marriage was projected, when the seizure was not yet meditated; and when the soul of a Bothwell, probably, would have shuddered at the meditation. But the commission for the cause was signed the 27th of April, and the citation issued on the 3d of May (*a*). Yet the order for the commission must have been prior to the signing, by one or more days; by as many perhaps, as the signing of the commission was prior to the issuing of the citation. The application for the order, also, must have been prior to the order itself; and the proxy must have been antecedent to all, and therefore antierior by several days to the seizure on the 24th. The plan of the seizure, and the scheme of the rape, were both fabricated together in the brain of Bothwell, as we have seen, under that dark cloud of desperation, which had been spread over him by Mary's rejection of him, on Sunday the 20th of April. But the plan of the divorce must have been prior to both, coeval with the first project for marrying Mary and formed as early as the 7th or 8th of April.

The plea which he put in, though "trivial" enough to us protestants, was not so in the eyes of papists; and was certainly not "scandalous," in the opinion of either. The degrees of consanguinity had been judicially ascertained before, on February 21st, 1565-6, and in the very same court; with a view to the procurement of a dis-

(*a*) Robertson, ii. 450.

penfation (*a*). But the parties had been married immediately, and without one (*b*). The confanguinity, therefore, needed no proof at present. The marriage without a difpenfation, wanted alone to be proved. This was foon done. One day finished the examinations, of the bifhop who married them, and of the perfons who were prefent at the marriage. And the judge pronounced, as he was obliged to pronounce, in favour of the divorce (*c*).

The co-exiftence then of thefe two fuits, which has fo long been urged as an evidence of collusion between Bothwell and his wife, is a decifive argument to the contrary. Had *he* been the infligator to *her* fuit, and the infligator with a view to Mary; we fee directly from his own fuit, that *ſhe* would have acted in a very different manner. She would not have thrown impediments in

(*a*) Tytler, edit. 3d. Appendix, 25—26. Yet Buchanan in his *Detection* (Anderson, ii. 34, and Jebb, i. 244), with all a bold knave's bravery of fraudulence, ſays, that "*Bothwellis wyfe* was compellit in *two* courtis to ſue *ane* divorce *aganis* hir huſband;" that "*befoir* judges delegate appointit *be* the *Queenis* authoritie to have juriſdictioun in ſic cauſis, *the wyfe* accuſis the huſband of adulterie, quhilk with *thame* was *ane juſt cauſ* of divorce;" and that "*befoir* *paſche* judges,—Bothwell was accuſit," *not* that by the po-piſh laws he was too near of kin to his wife, and had not been diſpenſed with, as it ſhould be, *but* "*that, beſoir* his marriage *with* his wyfe, he had committit fornicatioun with his *wyfe's neir kinnifwoman*." There is alſo the ſame audacity of impoſition, in his *Hiſtory*, xviii. 356.

(*b*) Tytler, *ibid.* and Robertson, ii. 450 and 451.

(*c*) Robertson, *ibid.*

the way of their common views, by branding *hi* ~~un-~~ necessarily with the crime of adultery, and ~~grounding~~ the divorce upon adultery in *him*. No! She would have applied at once, as he ~~d~~ afterwards, and as she, a papist, might with more propriety have done, to the spiritual court; and have procured a divorce for consanguinity. This is demonstrably plain from the consecution and the quality of *his* suit, contrasted with *hers*. But ~~she~~ she having already commenced one suit before the commissaries; and he himself having now a desire to be divorced, in another form, and with a view to Mary; he was obliged to commence a suit himself, and so to be divorced *twice* from the same woman. And he has thus showed us in the most convincing manner, that he and Lady Bothwell were in no collusion at all, that *she* pursued her own primary and natural plan in *her* suit, and that *he* pursued his own new and posteriour plan in *his*. Indeed *his* appears to have been suggested to him by the original recommenders of it, *in consequence* of *hers*; and suggested on the 7th or 8th of April, in consequence of her openly beginning *hers*, by openly signing the proxy on the 5th before.

There was no collusion, therefore, in the two principals. Where was also the *injustice* in the two courts? I can see none. The fact of consanguinity, we are sure, and the commission of adultery, we have full reason to believe, were clearly proved. This being the case, there could be no *injustice*. But, adds Dr. Robertson, there was "an indecent and suspicious precipitancy." To be

be sure, there was not what we now so fully expect in all suits, the tediousness of law superadded to the uncertainty of it. Yet there seems, notwithstanding, to have been some precipitancy. This was no amicable suit, which *he* did not oppose in her court, and *she* did not resist in his. He *did* oppose hers, and *she* did resist his. Before the commissaries, “for the said Erle compeared Mr. Edmond Hay, who, efter he had *pursued and craved the pursuer’s procurator’s oath* de calumnia, if he had just caus to pursew the said action, and *obtained* it, *denyed the libell*: and the said Mr. Harrie,” Lady Bothwell’s proctor, “took the morne—to prove the same pro prima.” Before the spiritual court too, “compeared the same procurators for both the parties, that were in the former proces—; and the procurator for the lady *instante* objecit objectiones juris generaliter contra productæ [producta] (a).” Each therefore resisted and opposed the other’s suit. This again shows, that there was no collusion between them. But this would take up the more time. It consequently makes the precipitancy to seem more apparent. Nor can we, in opposition to this evidence, allege our total want of information, how long such suits lasted in such courts at the time. Nor can we attribute our suspicions of the precipitancy, to borrowed principles and to modern ideas. The precipitancy is too plain. And we have only to enquire, *to whom* it should naturally be imputed; whether,

(a) Robertson, ii. 450 and 451.

as Dr. Robertson insinuates, to the Queen, the kept a "captive, environed with a continu
"guard of 200 harquebuziers, as well day :
"night, wherever she went ;" or, as common
sense suggests, to those who so kept, and so env
roned her.

The rebels indeed accused the courts at th
time, as Dr. Robertson does now, of this unusu
hurry. Yet their accusation, however true in th
substance, is repelled at once by its contradictor
ness to itself, and its opposition to history, in th
circumstances. In the text here, "the process
"of divorce" is said to have "not begunne be
"fore the *first of May*;" when, from the reb
journal itself, the citation appears to have bee
issued upon the 26th of April, and the proxy
have been signed on the 5th preceding. In th
text also, the process, which is said to have n
begun before the first of May, is equally said
have "yet with speed ended within *eight* days
when the process before the commissaries of Edi
borough, continued *at least* from some day
days previous to April the 26th, the date of th
citation, up to May the 3d, the day of the sen
tence, inclusively ; and when that before the ec
clesiastical court, from some days prior to Apr
the 27th, the day of the second citation, up to
May the 7th, the date of the second sentence, in
clusively ; *at least* nine and thirteen days, respec
tively. But the rebels were much more daring
in their assertions concerning both, at first. In a
memorial, which Craig, the bold minister of
Edinburgh, gave in to the general assembly on
December

December the 30th, 1567; he affirms "the sudden divorcement, and proclaiming of banns," to have been done within the "space of *four* "days (*a*). Even in a proclamation, which the rebels presumed to issue on the 12th of June before, and at the very outset of their rebellion; they were hardy enough to maintain, that "all the proces and sentences their of begun, endit, "and sentence given thairintill, within *two* "daies (*b*)." This last is the very authority, to which Dr. Robertson refers us; when he declares the sentence to have been pronounced, "with the same indecent and suspicious precipitancy" in both the courts. He chose to overlook the eight days of Murray's colleagues, in the text here. He even chose to overlook, the four days of his favourite Craig. He carefully pitched upon the *minimum quod* of the rebels (*c*). Nor would he observe the striking contrariety of all to each other, and the additional contradiction of all to Buchanan, who says the suit was ended within *ten* days; "*intra decimum diem*, his sus-

(*a*) Anderson, ii. 280. Knox, 406, most falsely makes him say, "within *ten* days."

(*b*) Anderson, i. 132.

(*c*) In the late edition of his work, he advances backward *into four*; says expressly, that each suit lasted "four days" (i. 43), as Mr. Hume had said before (v. 116); and yet refers us to his old authority still, "Anderson, i. 132," which actually specifies *two*, and to a new authority of his own, Appendix, No. xx. (p. 449—450 of the old editions), which in all sittings, the only days noticed, actually reckons up *three*. perplexed is the Doctor here!

“cepta, disceptata, et dijudicata est (a).”

have thus *ten*, and *eight*, and *four*, and *two* days assigned by the very rebels themselves at different periods, for the very period and continuance of these suits. And, amidst assertions that clatter loudly on our ears, let us listen to the voice of truth, in the Memoirs of Crawford. There we find, that in both the courts “the business was soon decided; for in ten days time MORTIMER and MURRAY” (by his letters left behind him) “and THE REST OF THAT FACTION, having SECRETLY USED THEIR INTEREST TO HAVE A SENTENCE DISPATCHED, was pronounced in both the courts (b).” We thus see the precipitancy of the sentence ascertained by the testimony of history; and authority concurring with common sense, to show it all occasioned by the rebels themselves. We have also a curious specimen of *slandering address* in the rebels, in attributing their own and Bothwell’s criminality, to Bothwell and the Queen; and in laying on the head of the innocent Mary, the load of their own infamy. And we view the rebels treating the two courts, as they believe the devils will treat all sinners; charging them violently with the very guilt, into which they themselves had seduced them; and, what perhaps the devils will equally do, seemingly validating the justice of their own accusation by their own facility of falsification, and by their own contradictoriness of imputation, in accusing them.

(a) Hist. xviii. 356.

(b) Memoirs, 21.

But, though the courts had been drawn into this rebel precipitancy of conduct, in pronouncing sentence ; yet the sentence itself was strictly right. Murray indeed pretended to charge one of the courts, the spiritual, with some criminality in its sentence. It was a popish court. It would readily be believed, therefore, to be corrupt. He charged the judge in it, with being *forced* to give sentence as he did. And he actually produced what he calls, " an instrument of compulsion ;" some letter, I suppose, written by we know not whom, and threatening we know not what ; but " proving the said judge to have been constrained, " to leid the said process of divorce (*a*). " This suggestion however, like many other suggestions of forgery, attempts to prove too much, and so defeats itself. The idea of force upon an assembly held at St. Giles's church in Edinburgh (*b*), and that force exerted by a written instrument, is too ridiculous for belief. Even Dr. Robertson rejects it. He speaks indeed of Bothwell's "*authority* having greater weight, " than the justice of his cause ;" but he thus substitutes influence for force (*c*). He afterwards rejects both the force and the influence together, upon " the justice of the cause ;" as he makes the " precipitancy " alone to be " suspicious." And he extends the " precipitancy " and the " authority," equally to *both* the courts ; when Murray confines

(*a*) Goodall, ii. 87.

(*b*) Robertson, ii. 450.

(*c*) In the late edition, therefore, the words are these ; " the *influence* of Bothwell was of equal weight in both " courts," i. 434.

the "force" to *one* alone. The existence of *influence* from Bothwell, over either of the courts in their sentence, even Murray himself denied; when he had recourse to forgery, in proof of *force* from Bothwell upon one of them. Nor did forgery do more than half its work, when it attempted to prove force only upon one. Both must be proved to be forced, or the cause is desperate. But that the four protestant commissaries of Edinburgh were forced, even Murray did not attempt to prove. Clement Little, one of the four, Alexander Syme, another of them, and Robert Maitland, another, three out of the four, we know to have been attached to the faction (*a*). The register of the kirk-assembly, also, acknowledges even in December 1567; "that the Quenis Ma-jestie's commissioun" was "given therintill "to sick men, *who for the maist part was our "brethren* (*b*). And that charge of compulsion which Murray brought so formally against *one* of the courts; of which Dr. Robertson, with his *usual prudence*, omits all mention, that he may not notice what he cannot believe, and may not lead to the detection of forgery in a friend; but for which he has substituted the influence of Bothwell over *both* the courts; this is all thrown back at present in the very face of the rebels, and turned into a positive authority for the influence of the rebels themselves upon both.

(*a*) Melvill, 117, Keith, 586, for Little and Syme; Keith 524, 528, and 534, for Little again; and 555 for Maitland.

(*b*) Keith, 567.

On the whole, then, the only fault of the courts was that precipitancy, into which the influence of the rebels led them. Yet even this influence did not affect the quality of their determinations. They determined rightly and justly. Accordingly, Mary herself assures us, in her several instructions to her embassadours sent to Paris and London; "that, abbeit he [Bothwell] was be-
 "foir mareit, zit the mariage with him, the
 "former contract and band, wes be ye ordoure
 "of law expressit in the canonis, reffavit and
 "practeyfit in the realme, for lauchfull caus of
 "consanguinitie, and utheris relevant, dissolvit,
 "and the proces of divorce ordourlie led;" or, in other words, "yat be ye lawis reffavit within
 "oure realme, and oft times practisfit, as is notour,
 "eneuch, his [Bothwell's] formar mariage wes
 "dissolvit, and the proces of divorce ordourlie
 "led (*a*).^a Nor need we rest the point upon the authority of Mary alone. We may bring in the rebels themselves, to confirm her testimony. They pretended indeed to call her marriage with Bothwell unlawful, because it was founded on an unlawful divorce. They asserted this repeatedly and formally, in their proclamations at the beginning of their rebellion. They even confederated together, as they alleged, in order to dissolve this unlawful marriage (*b*).^b But, when they had served their present purposes by the allega-

(*a*) Anderfon, i, 100—101, and 106—107.

(*b*) Anderfon, i, 131, 136, 139; and Robertson, ii, 371 375—376.

tion, they totally neglected it afterwards. They did even more than neglect it. In 1569, when Mary solemnly required them to examine the marriage, and to pronounce it void if it was unlawful, the answer returned was that consummation, even of *their* vulgarity and impudence; requiring her, if she wanted to have the marriage dissolved, to write to the King of Denmark, who then had Bothwell in his hands, and desire him to put her husband to death (*a*). This burst of barbarity shows us very plainly, that they considered the divorce as legal, whatever they pretended to the contrary. And they, and all the nation, appear plainly to have thought the same: as Lady Bothwell esteemed herself from the first, to be legally divorced; as from the first she avowed boldly to the very face of the rebels themselves, that she would always maintain her divorce to be legal; as the rebels themselves, in their very forgeries, acknowledge it to be lawful, by calling her brother Huntly “the brother-in-law that *was*” to the divorced Bothwell; and as the very assembly of the kirk, in the very month of December, 1567, and in their very condemnation of the Bishop of Orkney for marrying the Queen and Bothwell, condemn him only “in marieing the *divorcit* adulterer (*b*).”

But I wish to add two remarks, &c.

P. 324.

(*a*) Crawford, 128—129.

(*b*) Lett. vii. Sect. i. and Keith, 586.

The rebels, in the variety of their falsehoods, *once* insinuated Lady Bothwell to remain in Bothwell's house *after* the divorce

P. 324, Note †, *thus*.

† i. 392. See also No. xiv. hereafter.

P. 326,

force, in expectation of his murdering Mary and her son, and in hope of mounting the throne of Scotland with him. "What rested," they say, for Bothwell "to finish the work begun, and to accomplish the whole desire of his ambitious heart; but to send the son after the father; and as might be suspected, *seeing him keep another wife in store*, to make the Queen also drink of the same cup, to the end he might invest himself with the crown of the realm?—It behoved us assuredly, to have recommended the soul of our Prince—to God's hands, and, as we may firmly believe, the soul also of our Sovereign the Queen; who should not have lived with him half a year to an end, as may be conjectured by the short time they lived together, and *the maintaining of his other wife at home at his house*" (Keith, 418). This is such a falshood, as refutes itself sufficiently by its own wildness of calumny. It is indeed a part of that great system of imposition, the pretended collusion between Bothwell and his lady concerning the divorce. And any point, asserted or insinuated by such detected falsifiers for their own service, can gain credit only with those, who wish to believe in them, and who would be happy to be deceived by them.

In this, as in most of the falshoods,

———— Rebellion had ill luck.

The rebels uttered this falshood on July the 20th, 1567 (see Keith, pref. xi.). But, on the 22d of August following, their friend and associate, Throgmorton, unwittingly refuted it. "The Lady Bothwell," he says, "sister to the Earl of Huntly, passed through this town," Edinborough, "within these two days; and is gone to her mother and brother in the North parts; she hath protested to the lady of Murray in this town, that she will never live with the Earl Bothwell, nor take him for her husband" (Keith, 450). She had resided, it seems, from the time of the divorce to the 20th of August, for three or four months, somewhere

P. 326, Note †, thus.

† i. 419. The only alteration, which he heard
her

where to the south of Edinborough. There she must have heard her own divorce from Bothwell, and his marriage with the Queen in consequence of the divorce, pronounced by rebel proclamation on June the 12th, "*ane pretendit divorce ment,—maide and wrangouslie led;*" and "*ane unhoneest marriage,—quhilk from the beginning is null and of nane effect*" for sundrie causis knawn, als weill to utheris nationis as realmes, as to the inhabitantis of this common-weall, as "*als exprefs contrair to the lawe of God, and trow religion in fessit within this realme*" (Anderfon, i. 131—132). There she must have equally heard, that in the publick bond of association on June the 16th, the rebels equally asserted her husband, "in order to make his *pretendit* marriage, which shortlie followit, the mair valiabill," to have "*usit the order of divorce, as weill befor the ordinarie commissari*" as in forme and maner of the Roman kirk; declairing that "*he was of no kind of religion, as the same unlauchful marriage, suddenlie thairastir accomplishit on baith the fashion*" "*did manifest and testifie, albeit nouthir of Goddis lawe,*" "*na lawe made be man, of quhatsoever religion, nicht samyne marriage leisumlie haiff ben contractit*" (Anderfon. 136). There also she could not but have heard, that the rebels were *professedly* intending to dissolve the marriage, annulling the divorce; and that, on the 20th of July, they publicly insinuated her, in an open memorial to the English embassadour, to have been acting collusively with her late husband in the divorce, to have been waiting in his own house his murder of the Queen and the Prince, and to have been there expecting to ascend the throne with him, on the 20th. In this situation it behoved her to exert herself. The last intelligence would particularly stimulate her. It would naturally be some time in reaching her. But it seems to have roused her effectually, when it came. She left the south. She set out for the north. There all her relations lived. But she took care to stop at Edinborough, in the way. T

here made in his last edition, is changing Bothwell into his lady. "He prevailed with Lady Jane to apply to the Protestant COURT OF COMMISSARIES" (i. 433—434).

*P. 327, Note *, L. 1, thus.*

* Hist. xviii. 356. Dr. Robertson also, in his late edition, has adopted this assertion of Buchanan's. Bothwell, he says, sued "in the spiritual court of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, *the jurisdiction of which the Queen had restored, by a special commission granted for this purpose*" (i. 433). But he does this, to the wonderful contradiction of what he has said before; when he tells us in i. 392. edit. ivth, and equally in i. 403—404. edit. xith, that the Queen "issued a proclamation restoring the archbishop," and that this was "a short time before the meeting of the assembly," which met on December the 25th, 1566 (Keith, 563). And a commission was granted therefore, or (as the Doctor says in the other place) a proclamation was issued in the month of *December* 1566, for passing a sentence of divorce in the *May* following; though *Bothwell* had not then any *thought* of a *divorce*, though

she called upon LADY MURRAY herself, the wife of him, who only six days before came home to take the regency, who had had it offered to him in form a day or two before he came (Melvill, 87), and who actually took it only two days afterward (Appendix, No. x). And to her she could *authoritatively* declare, as she did, That, whatever Murray's party might say or do, she knew the divorce to be lawful, she would always consider it as lawful, and she would always act upon it as lawful.

even

even his *lady* had none then, and though eve
Mary herself was not then a *widow*. There ha
also been some confusion made in, &c.

P. 328, Note †, thus.

† i. 219. So also Hume, v. 115.

P. 333, L. 16—17, thus.

bond, “not willinglie; they procured a *warrant*—
“signed with the Quene’s hand; whereby sh
“gave them licence to agree to the same.” Yet
&c.

P. 334, L. 14—16, thus.

In November she went to bed, about nine. We
her Majesty, &c.

P. 355, L. 18—21, thus.

decisive evidence. But against the *Queen* it is c
no authority at all. And I wish to show th
wonderful contradictoriness, and as wonderful at
furdity, of this and other accounts furnished by th
rebels against her.

P. 356, L. 5—7, thus.

with a seeming confusion of ideas, that would b
very extraordinary in a man of his clearness c
conception, and in one living so near to the ge
graphical objects specified. He means not, tha
&c.

——, *L. 14, thus.*

to the *east* of it. He means only, that Buchana
fixes the seizure at “Almon Water,” a river
considerably to the *east* of Linlithgow; when Bu
chanan really fixes it, as we shall soon see, “a
“Almon—

“*Almonis pontem*,” at Almond-bridge to the *west* of it. Here also, &c.

P. 357, Note †, *thus*.

† Hist. xviii. 356. It has been suggested that the “Almond-bridge,” here mentioned, is the bridge over the Cramond; a river, which is written sometimes *Almond* but generally *Amond*, is the “Almond Water” of Goodall, *Amond Water* in reality, and the very “Awand Water,” I doubt not, at which Queen Mary from Edinburgh in 1565 orders the inhabitants of Linlithgow to “meet” her, on Sunday by twelve o’clock (Keith, 312); and which is crossed at *Amond Ford* near Kirkliston, about eight miles from Edinburgh, by the road to Linlithgow. The “Haltoun,” here also mentioned, has been equally suggested to be *Hatton*, a seat of the Earl of Lauderdale’s, to the east of the Cramond, and about three miles to the left of the road. Yet both these suggestions are clearly mistakes. The reasons above show them to be so. But the mention of “Haltoun” additionally shows it. “Haltoun” could never be melted down by any provincial elisions of speech, into *Hatton*. Into *Hauton* it might, but not into *Hatton*. Nor is the name of Lord Lauderdale’s house *written* otherwise than *Hatton*, in the very *records* concerning it (Douglas’s Peerage, 396). The place is also said expressly in the journal, to be “Haltoun *bard by*” Linlithgow. It cannot therefore, in any propriety of construction, be *Hatton*; a house, about *eleven* miles from Linlithgow. Nor can it be so, in any conformity

conformity to the movements of the journal. Bothwell, says the journal, went *from Edinburgh* to "Haltoun hard by" *Linlithgow*; when, according to this Dutch comment, he went to a place, that was *not* "hard by" either, was really *as near* to Edinburgh itself as to Linlithgow, and, as being only *nine* miles from it, even *nearer*. So ridiculous in every light, do these suggestions appear on examination! Common-sense indeed must convince us at a glance, that a place "hard by" Linlithgow must be one *nearly adjoining to the town*. And this *of itself* fixes the "Almond-bridge" to be where I have fixed it, at the only bridge that ever appears to have been so denominated, and in the grand pass over the Avon at Almond, a little to the west of Linlithgow. The other place also has hitherto escaped observation, from the disguise which is thrown round the name, by writing it from the provincial pronunciation (see other names so written, in Appendix, No. xvii). "Haltoun hard by" Linlithgow, is only Walltoun about two miles to the right or north of it, with the initial *W* omitted in the writing; and the seat, I suppose, of that "Laird of Hawton," whom Bothwell "relieved of grit trouble" (Knox, 396). Just so our Isle of *Wight* was called *Veſtis* and *Œtis* by the Roman Britons; the Saxon river *Wusa* is now the present *Ouse*; *Wool* is *Gulen* in Wales, *Ull* in Yorkshire, *Ollann* in Ireland, and smuggling it is *Owling* in our statute-book; the Saxon *Wase*, for mud, is now *Ooze*, the Saxon *Waar*, for sea-weed, is *Weir* in Northumberland, *Wore* in the Isle of Thanet,
and

and *Ore* in Cornwall; and *I will* is every where *I'll* colloquially. And we have exactly the same modification of a name, in a village closely adjoining; *Wall* being sometimes written *Gual* and sometimes *Al*, and Penwaltun or Kynwaltun being pronounced formerly Penneltun, and now Kenneilton. This village, says Bede himself, “*sermone Pictorum Peanfabel, linguâ autem Anglorum Penneltun, appellatur*” (Hist. i. 12. Smith); or, as Nennius more correspondently with the modern name informs us, was called by the southern Britons “*Peugaaul, quæ villa Scotticè Cenail, Anglicè verò Peneltun, dicitur*” (c. xix). This was so called, from being at the eastern head of Severus’s wall; as at the western is what Bede calls the “*urbs Al-cluith*” of the Britons, “*quod linguâ eorum significat Petram,*” he should have said, *Murum*, “*Cluith*” (ibid.); meaning the wall or rampart on the Clyde, as Dunbarton is at present.

P. 360, L. 3—7, thus.

Arran, a few years before (a). Hence Buchanan’s History, &c.

P. 375, L. 21, to P. 376, last line, thus.

But let me add one observation of a purely historical nature, before I close the essay. *What day* precisely did the Queen leave Stirling? On Wednesday April the 23d, says the journal. But this, I apprehend, is a mistake, and a wilful one, in the journal. She left not Stirling, I believe, till

(a) Keith, 30.

Thursday April the 24th. She was certainly *seized* the very day she left it. She did *not* sleep at *Linlithgow*, set off the next morning, and then fall into the hands of Bothwell. The rencounter between them, as we have seen already, was at Almond-bridge, on the *Stirling*, not the Edinburgh, side of Linlithgow. She was consequently seized, on her passage betwixt Stirling and Linlithgow. And this is decisively ascertained to have been done, upon Thursday April the 24th. "April 24," says the journal, "she sent the Erle of Huntly to Bothwell in the morning, quha met hir upon the way, seamit to ravish hir, and tuik Huntly and the secretarie prisoneris, and led them all to Dumbear." Nor does this date depend entirely upon the journal. It rests equally upon other authority. The rebels equally declared at York, when they presented the letters for the first time to an English eye, that "the-taking of the Quene by Bothwell, when he carried her to Dunbar, was *the 24th of Aprill* after the death of her husband (*a*)."
 But we have a third authority, equally rebel indeed, but much superiour to either of these from some circumstances in its nature. "Understanding," say the rebels so early as *the twelfth of June 1567*, and when the very idea of a set of forged letters against Mary, had not yet germinated in the hot-bed of a Lethington's brain: "yat James Erle Bothwele put violent handes in [on] our Soveraine Ladies maist nobill persoun, upon

(a) Goodall, ii. 141.

"*the 24 daie of April last bypast,*" &c. (a) And as such an union of authorities fixes the day of the seizure determinately, so it equally fixes the day of the Queen's departure from Stirling. She departed from Stirling, and was seized before she reached Linlithgow, on Thursday April the 24th. But let us also attend to the evidence of the letters. Of these, there were originally *two* alone from Stirling. These therefore were calculated for Monday night, as the fifth pretends to be written at night; and for Tuesday. This was in exact conformity to the journal, by which the Queen sets off the very next day from Stirling. So far the journal and the letters compleatly harmonized together. But the harmony was afterwards broken. Two jarring strings were introduced, in the formation of two additional letters. The 7th letter was added, as written just immediately after the 6th, "*sen my letter writtin,*" and equally upon Tuesday; while the 8th must be calculated for *Wednesday*. In the 7th, the Queen's arrival at Stirling is clearly intimated to have been *the day before*, "*zisterday,*" or Monday. And the Queen's seizure is plainly announced, to be intended for *the next day but one*, "*after to morne,*" or Thursday. Thus do the letters *at present*, the journal, the rebel declarations at York, and the rebel proclamation at Edinburgh, all concur to fix the seizure of

(a) Anderson, i. 131. The act of attainder against Bothwell, December the 20th 1565, fixes no day. It only specifies the month, "*mensis Aprilis ult. elapsi.*"

Mary, and consequently her departure from
 ling, on Thursday the 24th. But the letter
 deviating at once from their own plan and
 the plan of the journal, now stand in a clear
 tradition to the journal itself. Those mak
 Queen to stay at Stirling on Wednesday, ¹
 this carries her on Wednesday to Linlith
 The Queen's departure from Stirling, which
 on Thursday the 24th, was originally thi
 back by these bold artificers of history, to W
 nesday the 23d; in order to serve their pur
 of multiplying the evidences of Mary's guilt
 bringing Bothwell to "Haltoun hard by"
 lithgow on Wednesday, and of sending Hu
 to him the next morning. Yet this plan wa
 afterwards abandoned in the letters, even whi
 was still pursued in the journal; for the sak
 substituting some forged writings in the roo
 these fabricated incidents, and of creating for
 a couple of letters more from Stirling. ¹
 thus the letters returned back to the forsaken
 of truth in the day of the departure, and left
 journal persisting in its original deviation;
 right line of those exposing more clearly
 crooked line of this, by having been once
 crooked itself as this, and by now running strai
 along the curving side of this.

P. 377, *L. last, and last but one, thus.*
 both (a). And it accordingly partakes

(a) Not from Buchanan's papers, as Keith, 384, wro
 ingly states the point; but for them.

the falsity, the folly, and the impudence, of both (a).

P. 381, L. 3—11, *thus*.

This work was written originally, says Alexander Harvey, a servant of the Bishop's, upon his examination April the 18th 1570, "about twelve months before, by the Lord Hereys and Lord Boyd and the Bishop of Ross; as his master the Bishop told him." Or, as the Bishop says more circumstantially himself, "the Book of the Defence of the Quene's honour Thomas Busshop made, at the information of the Lord Harris, before this Examine's comyng into England," to the conference at "York in October 1568; and that booke was reformid and encreased by Thomas Busshop, this Examine, Lord Harris, and others, at the con-

(a) In June 1568, Elizabeth "did speidely send a gentleman of hers, named Mr. Henry Middlemore, one of good understanding and credit, with his letters to the said Quene" Mary (Anderson, iv. part i. 13). This was on June the 8th (Murdin, 765). Middlemore accordingly reached Carlisle and the Queen, on June the 12th (Anderson, *ibid.* 77). He entered Scotland the 15th; and came to Murray that day at Dumfries, who was there at the head of his army (*ibid.* 93—94, and 14). And yet "MAY 15th," says the journal, when it should be JUNE 15th, "Master Middilmoir, sent from the Quene's Majestie, causit my Lord [Murray] from thencefurth absteyn from armour and violence." And this compleats our evidence of the *carelessness*, with which this journal was originally composed; even where the hand of *knavery* has not been apparently at work upon it.

"ference at Westmynster (*a*).” It was begun, therefore, just before the conference at York, in the month of September 1568; and was altered and enlarged during the conference at Westminster, in the months of November and December afterwards; by these the most active and vigorous of Mary’s commissioners, and by Thomas Bishop acting as secretary under them: Lord Boyd, &c.

P. 382, L. 14—20, *thus*.

as above, and the last, which repeated the fictitious name again, on that account were equally dated in 1569; because the last and the first pages, I believe, always formed a single sheet in a pamphlet then, and therefore were always printed off as the last sheet of the whole (*b*).

P. 385, L. 18—20, *thus*.

only supplied facts and circumstances. It was first begun “at the information of the Lord Harris.” It was afterwards “reformed and increased” by the Bishop, under the instruction of “the Lord Harris and others.” Mary also, as appeared on Good’s examination, made some corrections and additions to the whole. It was, says Anderson, “returned to the Bishop *corrected*, with *some notes by the Queen to be added thereto* (*c*).” And all contributed, &c.

(*a*) Goodall, ii. 93 and 353, Murrin, 52 and 29.

(*b*) So, “the first edition in French” of Mary’s pretended letters, “bears in the title-page and at the end of the book,” that, “the printing of it was finished upon the xiii. day of February 1572” (Goodall, i. 104).

(*c*) Ibid. xi.

P. 386;

P. 386, L. 20—24, *thus*.'

Lesley's Defence of Mary, then, was principally written by the Bishop, *while* the conferences were *proceeding* at Westminster. But its opposed work, Buchanan's Detection, was all written *before* those conferences were *opened*. This, &c.

P. 388, Note †, L. 4—5, *thus*.

And Mr. Brown, the keeper of the library, declares it is not there. He had received extracts from many papers, which he reserved for an intended Life of Mary, and on which therefore he only glanced in his present work.

P. 395, L. 13, *thus*.

calumnies against Mary (a).

P. 397,

(a) Concerning the anonymous enlarger of Thuanus, Bayle gives us this account, in that multifarious collection of facts and opinions, which is called his Dictionary. Varillas, he tells us, says thus in the *preface* to his five volumes de l'Histoire de l'Herésie. "There are in the [French] King's library the five volumes of the President de Thuanus's History, in the margins whereof *the youngest of Messieurs de Puy* had written *with his own hand* the most curious facts, that *he and his brother* had judged fit to be retrenched from it, *when it was printed*. I have read in the additions to the 4th volume, that Buchanan being ready to expire," &c. But this very same Varillas, as Bayle observes, touches the same subject again in *the body* of his work, and reports the fact very differently. "In the original of Mr. de Thuanus's history," he *then* says, "in the place where the death of Buchanan is spoken of, there is written with that illustrious *President's own hand*, That James the Sixth," &c. "These variations and these shufflings," adds Bayle himself, "maintain the preference that Camden deserves." But they do more. They prove, that Varillas *forged the whole story*,
Had

P. 397, L. 16, *thus*.

daughter of Lord Herris in 1563, so became brother-in-law to the gallant Lord Herris; and was one of the, &c.

Aft

Had he ever seen a copy with such additions, he could not have asserted the additions at one time, to be the hand-writing of Monf. de Puy the younger, and to be reasons for such trenchments, as the two Messieurs de Puy thought proper to be made in the book; and have affirmed them at another, to be not in the hand-writing of Monf. de Puy at all, but in that of Thuanus himself. And the non-appearance of such a copy in the French King's or any other library, from the days of Varillas to the present time, is a confirmation of the inference deduced from this gross contradiction; and concurs with it, and with the forged speech above, to prove the whole a forgery of Varillas's.

Nor is this all the forgery, that I wish to expose here. When formerly a poet died, his brother bards used to write verses upon him, hang them on his hearse, and lay them in the grave with him. Just so the forgers appear to have acted with Buchanan. The hearse and grave of this grand forgery are infamously decorated with forgeries, by his brothers in iniquity. I have just noticed one of Varillas's. And Bay has unwittingly recorded another. "I have heard a Scotch lord say," he tells us, "that when Buchanan was asked at his death-bed, whether he did not repent of what he had written against the authority of Kings, and in particular against the honour of Mary Queen of Scots; he answered, 'I am going to a place where there are no Kings'" (Bay under *Buchanan*, London, 1720, translated, with additions and corrections by the author, not in the French). Thus these republican forgers keep hovering, like so many demons about the death-bed of their favourite Buchanan; urging him (as it were) to die a hardened felon, and exulting over the success of their forgeries in the consequent perdition of his soul. They go on to accumulate one forgery upon another, in order to deny what is so happily true, the final repentance and re-

After p. 408, come Nos. XIV. XV. XVI. and XVII. thus.

No. XIV.

CONCERNING A FORGERY BEFORE.

IN chapter the 1st of the present volume, I have noticed a forgery in a very memorable paper, that pretends to contain some concessions made by Francis and Mary in 1560, to their rebel subjects of Scotland. I have there noticed it in such a manner, as sufficiently proves its general forgery. But I wish here to examine the paper more particularly, and to prove the forgery of it from a variety of points. And this is the more expedient at present, as some parts of it have been recently made the foundation, for erroneous delineations of the Scotch government.

more of Buchanan. And the last forgery is evidently derived from a reality, that is much more recent in its date, not so dreadful in its nature, and belonging to another person. In the grand rebellion, Baxter, a man infinitely superiour to Buchanan in that first flame of the heart, *principle*, but carried away by the wild extravagance of the times, is said to have made a new version of the Lord's Prayer in part; and to have altered the clause, "thy KINGDOM come," into this, the last extreme surely of republican insanity, "thy COMMONWEALTH come." The kingdom of Heaven thus became the commonwealth of Heaven, under the magick wand of madness. And it so continued, I think, till the Restoration: when Heaven, like Britain, recovered its royalty; and the usurping commonwealth of the sectaries, again gave way to Christ's original kingdom of Heaven.

— I. —

On May the 2d 1560, Francis and Mary issued a commission at Chenonceau, to Monluc, Randan, and others; authorising them to meet some commissioners from Elizabeth, and to enter with them into “a reconciliation of differences arisen with the Queen of England (*a*).” Elizabeth also issued an equal commission to Cecil, Wotton, and others, referring to the French commission, calculated for the same purpose, and dated on the 25th of the same month (*b*). And under these two commissions was the peace made, between Elizabeth upon one side, and Francis and Mary on the other. Yet the present paper comes forward, to confound this clear and certain order of things. It pretends to produce a *second* commission for the *French* deputies, dated one month after the other, and at a different place, on *June* the 2d, and at *Remorentin*. The dating words run thus in the French; “donne a Remorentin le deuzime jour de Jung Lan de grace mil cinque cent soixante et de noz regnes les premier et seizieme.” Yet this does not even *pretend* to *revoke* the other; and so is proved by the other to be an imposture, at once. This indeed *takes no notice* of the other; and so proves itself again to be an imposture. This also *professes* to be *that very commission itself*; and so shows its

(*a*) Keith, 130, and Forbes, i. 460 and 319.

(*b*) Ibid. 130—131, and Forbes, i. 494—500.

own fictitiousness, a third time. It states itself to have been drawn up, just as the original commission does, for making peace with *Elizabeth*. "We having received information," it makes Francis and Mary to say, "that our said sister [*Elizabeth*] is willing to depute some persons to repair thither [to the frontiers of Scotland] on her part;" they therefore depute Monluc, Randan, &c. "to meet and assemble with the deputies of our said sister the Queen of England,—to treat concerning the renewing of our —mutual amity." And as *that* speaks of the differences arisen with Elizabeth, "by assembling of men on the borders;" so *this* declares some commotions in Scotland to have "been the occasion, that upon the frontiers of the said kingdom, and those of England, there has been some gathering together of soldiers from both kingdoms, which may have interrupted in some sort our common amity (*a*)."
The *second* commission thus arrogates to itself, all the power and authority of the *first*; and so shows the impertinence, in displaying the bravery of falsehood.

But the second is not content merely to "play these tricks to the eye of Heaven." It not only ventures to pass itself off upon us, for the original commission. It also flies in the face of the original. It thus does, what it was fabricated to do. It *directly contradicts the other*. And, with the last extreme of forging impertinence and forging

(*a*) Keith, 130 and 143. Remorentin, here noticed, is "fourteen myles beyonde Bloys" (Forbes, ii. 26).

bravery,

bravery, it presumes to maintain its pretension to originality, in full opposition to the very original itself. Francis and Mary issued the re-commission, in order to terminate their difference with their rebellious subjects of Scotland, but under the form of adjusting a quarrel between themselves and Elizabeth; because they would not condescend to enter directly into treaty, with the rebels themselves. "Reges enim Gallorum," says even Buchanan, "non credebant e sua esse dignitate, in *equam disceptationem cum civibus suis venire (a)*." "Galliæ enim et Scotiæ Regi et Regina," says Camden nearly in the same words, "infra Majestatem visum est, *equam disceptationem cum subditis descendere (b)*." "The French," adds Spotswood—"thinking it dishonourable for the King and Queen of France to *treat with their own subjects*; they intreated the Queen of England to send her embassadours, to mediate an agreement (c)." Yet the *second* commission speaks in terms, of "the *rebellion* of some of our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland." It also authorizes the deputies expressly, "to *give assurance to our subjects* of the kingdom of Scotland, though notwithstanding they have of late committed *grievous a crime*, as to forget their duty towards us, if nevertheless they shall repent," &c. (d). And the *second* thus goes directly against the *first*

(a) Hist. xvi. 324.

(b) P. 53.

(c) P. 146.

(d) Keith, 143 and 144.

so attempts to *superfede* it, and thereby proves itself for the fourth time to be a forgery.

The first and genuine commission was drawn up, with such a delicate attention to the rights of royalty; that the rebellion of these Scotch saints, however successful in itself, could not afterwards be legally vouched, as any sanction for future rebellions. But such an attention would not suit the purposes of rebellious ambition, in Murray. He therefore had the hardiness of knavery, to forge a new commission, and to draw it up for a direct and formal treaty with the rebels.

Yet this was only a part of his plan. He had another, and more important, part behind. The concessions granted by Francis and Mary under the genuine commission, were not sufficient in his eyes. He must have more. And he forged at once a new commission and new concessions (*a*).

The concessions under the *first* commission, were nothing more, in effect, than a pardon to the rebels for their rebellion. This appears from the 8th article of the real treaty, which refers to

(*a*) Something like this foul play, the English embassadour at Paris feared, would be played by the French a very few weeks before this period. "Theyr ys no suche treatie," said Throgmorton to the Spanish embassadours, "betwyxte Fraunce and Scotland: I wyll not denie,—but paraventure the Frenche wall cause suche a instrument to be made y^e *ferme*, and *solemly synyd*, either by L'Aubespine," the secretary of state, "or *somme other notori*, to abuse you withall; and yet, methynkythe, they shuld not use suche impudencie: you be bothe so conyderate, that you wyll desyer to se the verie oryginall, and not beleve a transcrypte off the adversary party" (Forbes, i. 463).

"certain

“ certain supplicatory petitions, presented by the
 “ faids nobility and people” of Scotland, “ to the
 “ faids King and Queen,” Francis and Mary;
 and which promises, “ that the faids—King and
 “ Queen—shall fulfil all those things, which by
 “ their said commissioners, they have granted to
 “ the faids nobility and people (a).” These
 “ supplicatory petitions” it plainly implies, to be
 for pardon only. “ Seeing,” adds the article,
 “ it hath pleased Almighty God—so to incline
 “ the minds of the said—King and Queen—,
 “ that they have largely manifested their CLE-
 “ MENCY and BENIGNITY towards their nobility
 “ and people—; and that reciprocally the faids
 “ nobility and people have willingly, and of
 “ their own accord, acknowledged, professed,
 “ and promised all duty and obedience to the
 “ faidis—King and Queen, their sovereigns;
 “ for the better preservation, cherishing, and con-
 “ tinuance whereof, the faidis—King and Queen
 “ have, by their faids commissioners, *granted their*
 “ *assent* to certain *supplicatory* petitions” &c.
 “ And the faids—King and Queen being desirous
 “ to have their said BENIGNITY towards their said
 “ subjects, attributed to the *good offices* of the said
 “ —Queen Elifabeth,—at whose INTERCESSION
 “ and REQUEST the faids King and Queen have
 “ been *more propensely moved bereunto*; therefore
 “ ’tis agreed between the foresaid commissioners
 “ of both parties, that the faids—King and Queen
 “ shall fulfil all those things, which, by their

(a) Keith, 135—136.

“saids commissioners, they have granted to the
 “saids nobility and people of Scotland, at Edin-
 burgh the 6th day of July in this present year
 “1560; provided the saids nobility and people
 “of Scotland *shall fulfil and observe* all those
 “things, that are contained in the saids articles
 “and conventions, to be performed on *their*
 “part (a).” All this evidently implies nothing
 more, than a general pardon of the rebels, as at
 the intercession of Elizabeth, and on the condi-
 tion of their dutiful behaviour for the future.
 The very turn and terms of the article, show it
 decisively. Buchanan also concurs with the arti-
 cle, to show it. One of the conditions of peace,
 and the only one that he notices concerning the
 rebels, he states to have been this: “ut Maria
 “Scotorum Regina, consentiente Francisco ma-
 “rito, lege latâ sanciret *oblivionem* omnium, quæ
 “per Scotorum procures gesta aut attentata fu-
 “erant, a decimo die Martii M.D.LIX. usque
 “ad calendas Augusti M.D.LX. (b)” And
 Camden coincides with both, stating the only one
 of the articles that respected the rebels, to be this;
 “Rex et Regina cum nobilibus Scotiæ, subditis
 “suis, *reconciliabuntur* (c).”

The concessions then, made in this treaty to
 the rebels, were merely concessions of pardon.
 Yet a mere pardon was not sufficient, for such
 presumptuous rebels as these. They wanted
 more. They actually asked for more *during the*
treaty, under *pretence* of securing *this*. The fact

(a) Keith, 135—136.

(b) Hist. xvii. 326.

(c) P. 54.

appears

appears from a letter of Cecil's, and an intimation of Camden's, united together. "Such is the case," says Cecil on June 21st, 1560, "being betwixt a prince and subjects; as we know not how to provide for *surety* of subjects *against all adventures*, without such dishonour to the prince, as neither WILL BE GRANTED, nor can REASONABLY BE DEMANDED, for subjects: I assure your Majesty, these cases be marvellous difficult to resolve; and yet considering I know the French malice, and am wholly addicted to your Majesty's honour and surety, I would not YIELD SO MUCH TO THE FRENCH QUEEN'S HONOUR IN BEHALF OF HER SUBJECTS, if your coffers were full to maintain but one year's war (a)." Camden speaks still more precisely, and takes in the *whole* time of the negotiations. "Quo tempore," he tells us, "MORAVIUS ea proposuit, quæ Cecilius nec A SUBDITIS PRÆPONENDA NEC A PRINCIPIBUS CONCEDENDA, censuit (b)." And yet these are evidently the *very points*, that form the *striking* and *glaring* articles of the forged agreement.

Thus article the 5th, which declares "neither the King nor the Queen shall *order peace or war* within Scotland, but by the *advice and consent* of the *three estates*, conformable to the *laws, ordinances, and customs* of the country, and *as has formerly been done by their predecessors the Kings of Scotland* (c);" and on which some wild theories of Scottish government have been built

(a) Keith, App. 49.

(b) P. 53.

(c) Keith, 140.

by those, who are fascinated with the very **COW-BRAWL** of liberty (*a*), and who are ready to follow THE PIED PIPER OF HAMELEN to their own destruction; is clearly one of those points, that Murray proposed and that Cecil rejected. It is plainly such, as *ought not to be asked by subjects*; such as *ought not to be granted by sovereigns*; and such also, as, in the opinion of Cecil himself at the time, *was sure not to be granted* by the deputies of Francis and Mary. And it is plainly such again, as from the united testimonies of the real treaty, of Camden, of Buchanan, and of Cecil, *was not granted at all*. Nor was it ever afterwards *pretended to be granted*, except at the very moment. No such *prerogative* as this, was ever claimed afterwards by that *mock-majesty* of the people; with which republican dreamers love to dress up the mob, in order to gratify their own imaginations by the vision; and with which, too, the more active sons of ambition love equally to garnish them out, in order to make them mere spademen and pioneers to their own operations. The claim and the concession are found only here. And Camden and Cecil unite to show us, how they come to be here. Murray could not *gain* the point by *treaty*. He therefore *seized* it by *forgery*. He forged a new agreement, as well as a new commission. He forged the latter, with a view principally to the former. He incorporated the old commission into the new. And he com-

(*a*) The tune, which has such a fascinating effect on the Swiss soldiery in foreign parts, is called the *cow-brawl*.

pounded the new agreement with the rebels, into one mass with the old.

There is also another article of the same kind, in this spurious agreement; which is the 6th, and says "*the three estates shall make choice of twenty-four able and sufficient persons of note out of this realm, out of which the Queen shall select seven, and the states five, for to serve as one ordinary council of state during her Majesty's absence (a).*" This also is clearly one of the points, which Murray proposed to Cecil and Cecil refused to ask, as what was *not to be desired by subjects, and not to be granted by sovereigns*. Yet Murray inserted it in the forgery, when he could not introduce it into the reality. It is indeed a necessary part of that grand plan, which is regularly pursued in these supplemental articles of the treaty; and which is to fix the parliamentary estates, in an elevation of authority incompatible with the Queen's sovereignty. The preceding article takes away from her, the power of making peace or war; without the concurrence of her parliament. This gives her also a perpetual council, appointed by the parliament itself; she having only the liberty to chuse seven out of twenty-four *nominated by them*, and they being then to chuse five more *out of their own number*. And both would unite to reduce her, to what the late Sovereign of our own country, with too much reason, said his ministers once wanted to reduce him; into that lowest pageant of royalty, *a very Doge of Venice*.

(a) Keith, 140.

But

But the same plan was carried on, with another article. The 8th says, that the act of oblivion shall extend to "all those, who have any manner of way contravened the laws of the kingdom; provided nevertheless, that the privilege of this act be not extended to those, *whom the estates shall not deem worthy thereof (a).*" This was certainly another of the points, which Cecil *refused to ask*, which Cecil *was sure would not be granted*, and which Camden and Cecil intimate *were not granted*. It was the last link in the chain of that Polish and republican royalty, which Murray wanted to be forming for his own advancement. It was to make the estates, not merely co-ordinate, but even supreme. It was to wrest the power of pardoning, out of the hands of the Queen. It was to lodge the power of punishing, in the hands of the parliament. And, what is more, that parliament, without which she was not to make either peace or war; which was to nominate her very council for her; and which the rebels had already calculated, no doubt, to render totally subservient to their will, by the violent introduction of mere *freeholders* into it; was now empowered to turn the very act of oblivion itself against the very Queen herself, to make it cover all their own party completely, and to keep it from covering any of hers at all (*b*).

(a) Keith, 141.

(b) These freeholders claimed an equal right to sit in council, as well as in parliament. Such was their audacious folly! See Robertson, ii, 323—324.

These were articles certainly forged by the rebels. They were all forged, too, immediately after the treaty was concluded. This is evident from a couple of cotemporary papers. In some instructions given by the triumphant heads of the rebellion, to a person sent by them to Francis and Mary, on the termination of the parliament; he is directed to "declair to thair Majesties, that, according to *ane artikle in the said treatie*, that the estaitis shall nominate twenty-four gude and notable personis of this realme, of the quhilkis thair Majesties shuld cheis seven, and the saidis estaitis fyve, quha shuld mak the ordinar counsell to governe the causis of this realme," &c. (a) And, in a paper reciting the deeds done by this parliament, we are told, that "thair is 24, *conform to the artiklis*, chosin to be sent to the King and Quenis Majesties, whairof thair shuld cheis," &c.; and that, "tweching the law of oblivion, it is ratifiet and approvit," but every shire has given in so many namis in special, as thair think shuld joine and haif the privilege of the said law, and the rest ar to be unworthie thairfor (b)." These show the forgery to have been made, immediately after the treaty; to have been made, like the famous letters themselves, for the deception of the parliament and to have succeeded in its work of imposition upon the parliament, as effectually as the letters themselves did.

Nor let any of my more candid readers, be

(a) Keith, App. 91.

(b) Keith, 152.

frightened

frightened from thinking the whole a forgery ; because they see two of the articles immediately afterwards, thus solemnly sanctioned by the parliament as genuine. I must be ingenuous enough to own, that I hesitated myself at first, on a view of this. I could hardly conceive these convicted forgers, to have been *then* capable of mounting up, to such an altitude of impudence as this. But the forgery is too apparent, upon the face of the agreement and commission ; for these to be carried through as genuine, by mere dint of effrontery. And the carrying of the famous letters, through the parliament of 1567 ; the fixing a parliamentary sanction of authority, upon those blasted forgeries ; marks at once the high degree of effrontery and impudence, to which the spirits of these rebels could rise, in the prosecution of their rebellious purposes.

But this very parliament of 1560, appears to have acted exactly in the manner, in which the parliament of 1567 acted ; to have equally sanctioned the grossest falsehoods for truths ; and to have broken down all the lines and fences of common honesty, in order to pursue their ruffian reformation to its full perfection. In the 13th article of *their own* treaty it is provided, “ that
 “ if any bishops, abbots, or other ecclesiastical
 “ persons, shall make complaint that they have
 “ received any harm, either in their persons or
 “ goods ; these complaints shall be taken into
 “ consideration by the estates in parliament, and
 “ such reparation shall be appointed, as to the
 “ saids

“saids estates shall appear reasonable (a).” Yet how was this plain article, the necessary parturely of a general reconciliation, answered by the parliament? It was answered thus, as we luckily happen to know from an accidental letter of the time. The bishops, abbots, and “utheris of the clargé,” put in their complaints accordingly—But they “could get na answer” to them. “I gaif in findrie billis,” says an agent for the archbishop of St. Andrew’s, “to the lordis of the parliament, be avyse of Maister Johne Spens—desirand an answer; I could never gett the answer of *ane* of thame (b).” Yet on the last day of sitting, and just before the parliament broke up for the session, these perfidious men played off a most hypocritical mockery of justice upon them. They insisted upon the bishops and abbots in parliament, doing immediately what they knew they would not do, subscribing to their presbyterian confession of faith. They thus drove them by their violence, out of the parliament-house. They then brought forward those very complaints, which they would never suffice to be discussed before. They called in forth twice upon the bishops, &c. to stand forth and support their complaints; at the very time, when they knew them all to be absent. And, on their not doing what it was absolutely impossible for them to do, they instantly voted; that the bishops, &c. had no complaints to make, and that they

(a) Keith, 142.

(b) Ibid. 488—489.

had owned as much by their silence. Just so in a Polish diet, when only one man dissents, the rest have been said to draw their sabres, to cut him barbarously in pieces, and then to cry out in a savage triumph, "Non loquitur." But let not the fate of even such wretches in infamy, be suspended upon my word. Let it be shown by two authentick papers. "The last day of the parliament," says one of them, "at fyve houris at *evin*, the lordis of the articlis callit for the bishoppis to resson thair billis; and *thai wer all departit*, be reason that *thai would nocht subscribe* with the lordis of the articlis: and *thairfor* thai wer callit, BECAUSE OF THAIR DEPARTMENT (*a*). Such low-souled sons of fraudulence, were these chiefs of rebellion! And then the parliament entered this resolution upon their books: "yat *becaus na man comperit* of the kirkmen, that gaif in thair billis of complaint, nor *nain for tham*, to declare in special quhairin they wer hurt, *estir thai war twyse callit upon*; the lordis and nobilitie *had don thair dutie*, conform to the articles of peac (*b*). Such heroes in bravery and audaciousness, were these princes of reformation (*c*)!

But let me proceed at once to an act of theirs, which is so much superiour to all their other enor-

(*a*) Keith, 488—489.

(*b*) Ibid. 151.

(*c*) Yet this deed of knavery is totally omitted by Dr. Robertson, i. 238—243; is even turned into a direct act of honesty, in a suppression of all the offensive circumstances, by Mr. Guthrie, Scotch Hist. vi. 139; and is prudently omitted again by Dr. Stuart, Hist. of Reformation, 188—194.

mities, as to hide and cover them under its broad glare of iniquity. In *their own* treaty again, and in the 17th article, it is declared, that “whereas, “on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, there have been presented certain articles “concerning RELIGION and CERTAIN OTHER “POINTS, in which the lords deputies would by “no means meddle, as being of such importance, “that they judged them proper TO BE REMITTED “TO THE KING AND QUEEN; therefore the “said nobles of Scotland have ENGAGED, that, “in the ensuing convention of ~~estates~~ SOME PER- “SONS OF QUALITY SHALL BE CHOSEN, for to “REPAIR TO THEIR MAJESTIES, and REMON- “STRATE TO THEM the state of their affairs, par- “ticularly THOSE LAST MENTIONED—, and TO “UNDERSTAND THEIR INTENTION AND PLEA- “SURE, concerning *what remonstrances shall be “made to them*, on the part of the kingdom of “Scotland (a).” The rebels were thus tied up in the fullest and most forcible manner, from even *attempting* any *the slightest innovations*, upon the national system of religion. All was to be remitted to the King and Queen. Nor were they even to make any remonstrances to them upon the subject, *before* they had made a deputation of nobles to them, to explain the condition of the kingdom, and then to know what kind of remonstrances they would suffer to be made upon the subject. And yet, yet, no honour could bind, and no engagement could fetter, these

(a) Keith, 142—143.

Turks and Tartars of protestantism. They broke through all engagements. They trampled upon all honour. They set all Christendom and Heaven at defiance. And they established the reformation in Scotland, with such a profligate contempt of God and man; as must make the cheek of an *honest* Protestant to burn with shame, and the heart of a *real* Christian to tremble with abhorrence. They appointed no deputies. They made no remonstrances. But they fell to their wild work of reformation, at once. They even altered, as far as *they* could alter, *the whole form and economy* of religion in the kingdom. And they then had the superadded impudence, to request the Queen's ratification of their villainies (a).

This most impudent request we know to have been rejected with disdain. But what particular reasons were assigned for their rejection, has never yet been ascertained. They are intimated to us, however, in a passage of Camden's Annals; distorted indeed, by some wilful mis-information, I fear, in those papers of Cecil's from which he

(a) Yet to the astonishment of myself, and (I hope) of my readers too, I find that this infamous violation of all principle, is most jesuitically flattered over by Dr. Robertson, i. 242—243, by Mr. Guthry, vi. 136—142, and by Dr. Stuart, 189—195. Protestants, it seems, may break through all restraints of honour, when they are securing liberty and reformation. Papists challenge equally a dispensation from the shackles of morality, when they are securing religion and the church. And so knavery, protestant or popish, is licensed to walk the round of Christendom.

wrote, and disguised by the consequent confus-
 ness of his own ideas concerning all. "V
 "they," Francis and Mary, "refused to conf
 "it," the treaty of Edinborough, he says; "t
 "alleged these causes." The first is this: "
 "that the Scots had entred into *the confederac*
 "*Berwick* with the English, not by the royal
 "thority, but by their own; which they ou
 "not to have done." This was plainly a real
 as here stated, which could not have been
 ferred by idiotcy itself. The confederacy of E
 wick was formed, months before the treaty
 Edinborough. It certainly was an act of h
 rebellion, in itself. But it could not supers
 the treaty of Edinborough made afterwards,
 cause this treaty did not mention it at all;
 English, who would have gladly had it sanction
 by the treaty, being always refused by
 French; and even the forged articles not p
 tending to sanction, or even to notice, it. A
 the reason assigned by Francis and Mary *in real*
 was this, no doubt; "for that the Scots l
 "added a new treaty to that with the English,
 "made by the royal authority, but by their ow
 "which they ought not to have done." The
 cond reason is this: "for that it was entred i
 "by rebels, and signed with the counterfeit se
 "and subscriptions of their faithfull subject
 This reason carries a still stronger ray of inte
 gence with it, than the other. The confeder
 of Berwick was signed only by Murray (tl
 Lord James Stuart), Lord Ruthven, John Mi
 well (afterwards Lord HERRIS), Maitland, Wyth

of Petarro, and Balnavys ; all well-known rebels at the time, and all (except Hennis) continuing rebels to the very last. There were no "seals" and subscriptions of their faithful subjects," to *this*. There could not possibly, therefore, be any "counterfeiting" of them for *this*. But there could be, and there was, for the *other*. The treaty of Edinburgh, in the Scotch and forged half of it, was actually "signed with the counterfeit seals and subscriptions of their faithful subjects," Randan and Monluc. And the second objection to signing the Scotch part of the treaty of Edinburgh, was this, no doubt, originally : "for that it was *counterfeited by the rebels*, and SIGNED WITH THE COUNTERFEIT SEALS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS of their faithful subjects *and embassadours*." The third objection advanced, carries a still stronger ray of intelligence than either, and is this : "for that they had not performed the obedience promised in the said confederacy." But no obedience at all was promised in the *confederacy*. None *could* be. It was solely a league of iniquity, between Elizabeth and the Scotch rebels. In such a league, what *promise* could there possibly be, of obedience to Francis and Mary ? None certainly. Yet there was actually such a promise in the *treaty*. It was *even* made in the English part of the treaty, the very *condition* on which the concessions to the Scotch rebels were granted. And Francis and Mary, therefore, might with every propriety refuse to ratify, even the genuine part of the Scotch articles, and even the English half
of

of the whole treaty; because those articles were granted expressly in that half, on the condition of dutiful allegiance for the future; and because the rebels had in their packed parliament, in their forgery sanctioned by it, and in their ordinances formed in it, been adding insult to impudence, been breaking through all the ties of allegiance and all the restraints of conscience, been annihilating the authority of the crown, and laying it under the feet of their fanatical mob (*a*).

All unites to prove the flagitious readiness of this parliament, for committing any crime and for sanctioning any forgery, that Hell could prompt and Earth could execute. In this readiness they received the forged articles from Murray, and stamped them with the impress of their own authority for genuine. Murray, Ruthven, and Leithington, the three witnesses to the authenticity of them and of the commission, were in all probability the very fabricators of both. Murray, undoubtedly, was concerned in the work. His original offer of such articles for insertion in the treaty, shows this sufficiently. And all was done directly after the treaty, to meet the coming parliament. The "articles and conventions," which the French commissioners signed to the *rebels*, were merely in the keeping probably of the very rebels themselves. They were to be ratified by the parliament, and then remitted to the

(*a*) Camden, Orig. i. 60, Transf. 48; Keith, 119, 117, 315, &c.; and Haynes, 336—340.

g and Queen for their ratification (a). For reason, no copy of them has ever been found among the papers, of either the French or the English commissioners. And the only copy that have at present, is derived entirely from the *els*. In such a case, Murray, and his co-operators in knavery, had nothing more to do; but to draw up a new set of articles in the room of the old, to introduce such into this as they ought *should have been* in that, and to present a forged for the genuine paper to the publick. They did so, to the parliament. They did so, to Cecil. They produced, no doubt, their spurious treaty in *their own* original of it, to the parliament; though they presented only a copy of it to Cecil. They afterwards withdrew, probably, their pretended original from the records of parliament; just as they withdrew their pretended originals, from the English commissioners at Westminister; lest it should be seen, examined, and detected. They had reported the pretended signatures of Francis, Mary, and de l'Aubespine, and even the pretended seals of Francis and Mary, to this commission; exactly, no doubt, as they had seen them affixed to the other. They had actually forged the signatures of Monluc and de Liancourt, to the agreement. They were therefore liable to be detected, in these forgeries of attestation; as they were in their forgery of Mary's handwriting, upon the letters. And, to prevent detection, they withdrew equally the letters, the recited commission, and the agreement, from

(a) Keith, 143.

inspection. They had carried their grand point, by the production of the agreement and the commission; as they again carried it afterwards, by the production of the letters. They were then apprehensive for all. They therefore suppressed all. The original forgery of 1560 has been ever since as invifible, as the original forgery of 1567. And, had it not been for the copy of both in Cecil's poffeffion, we fhould have known only of both in general, and not have been able to expofe the forgery of either, at this moment.

By the light of this, however, we have feen the agreement and the commission to be an evident forgery. The commission we have feen to be forged, by its being different from the real commission, by its not noticing the real one, by its not pretending to contradict it, and by its arrogating to itfelf all the power and authority of it. There cannot be two funs in one hemifphere. One of them muft neceffarily be a mock-fun. And the moment we acknowledge the reality, we muft confider the other as merely a mockery. But the other proves itfelf the more to be a mock-fun, by prefuming to fet itfelf off for the real one. It pretends to have all the light and heat of the real one, in itfelf. It thus betrays the weaknefs of its own luftre the more, by the haughtinefs of its pretentions. And the fpurious commission deftroys its own authority at once, by prefuming to thruft itfelf forward for the genuine one.

That Murray and his accomplices fhould have been guilty of fuch an extravagance as this, may feem very amazing. But we have feen them guilty of ftill greater, in the letters, fonnets, and
contracts

contracts before. They were even guilty of still greater, in this very forgery. They drew up the commission, as to the rebels, in these terms: "to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, that notwithstanding they have of late committed so grievous a crime, as to forget their duty towards us; if nevertheless they shall repent, and return to that obedience which they owe to us, we are willing to receive them into favour, and to forget all that is past (*a*)."

This is the whole of the commission, which relates to the rebels. The rest either refers to Elizabeth; or includes those general powers, which are necessary to every commission, but which, however large and ample, are of course, as common-sense tells us, to be circumscribed and limited in their application, by the objects particularly specified (*b*). Yet the very articles of agreement under this commission, go a thousand degrees beyond all this. They not merely pardon rebels. They do infinitely more. They unhinge the

(*a*) Keith, 144.

(*b*) This is said, with a view peculiarly to Mr. Guthry; who in vi. 131—134 is weak enough, to shelter all the excesses in the forged agreement, under the general powers of the pretended commission. The forgers perhaps were weak enough, to intend the same; and therefore made their general powers *so* ample. But if these are not considered, as all general powers with specifick objects must be; they will only serve as another proof of the forgery. No sovereigns in their senses would permit their deputies with instructions, to wander *ad libitum* from the specified objects of their instructions, under pretence of their general powers; as then all specification would be superfluous and impertinent.

whole

whole constitution. They elevate the estates into judges co-equal with the Queen, respecting peace or war. They authorize them, to nominate her very council for her. They even take away her right of pardoning, and her power of punishing, for all the late train of offences; and transfer it all to the estates. And therefore, upon the very terms of their own commission, these very concessions of their own granting are absolutely void and null. So negligent were these forgers in fabricating their forgery, as to make their own articles clash violently with their own commission; even that very commission, from which the articles were to derive all their authority.

Yet what was all this contradiction or all that extravagance, to the grand anachronism in the date of the commission; an anachronism, into which no person in a clerk's office at court, no person in the official and mechanical habits of business, could possibly have fallen; and none but an interloper, hasty and negligent, could ever have fallen at all? To mistake the EIGHTEENTH year of Mary's reign, for the SIXTEENTH; to date a commission of 1560 in the SIXTEENTH, when she was actually in her EIGHTEENTH, and when *all the other records of her reign are dated accordingly*; is such a monstrous and over-grown absurdity, as crowns all the rest.

— II. —

But I can corroborate this capital discovery, by another of the same nature.

The

The commission is also dated the **SECOND** day of **JUNE**, in the year 1560. On the **SECOND** of **JUNE**, therefore, does it order Monluc, Pellue, De la Brosse, D'Oysel, and Randan, "to transport themselves to the frontier of our said kingdom of Scotland, and to meet and assemble with the deputies of the Queen of England (a)." But Pellue, De la Brosse, and D'Oysel, had now been long with the French forces in the town of Leith (b). Monluc also entered the English camp at Leith, upon the *twenty-first* of *April* before; reached Berwick in his return, upon the *thirtieth*; arrived at London on the *eleventh* of *May*; and there waited a while, in order to return back into Scotland again (c). And Randan, the only one of the five, who was now remaining in France; who received the real commission in France, at or after the *second* of *May*; and who is asserted by this pretended commission, to have received it in France, at or after the **SECOND** of **JUNE**; actually appears in person *within the kingdom of England, at the very time*. This is a wonderful addition of evidence, to the

(a) Keith, 143.

(b) Buchanan, Hist. xvi. 324, for D'Oysel; and 325, for De la Brosse, and Pellue the Bishop of Amiens; and Haynes, 325, for "there colleagues in the towne."

(c) Buchanan, Hist. xvi. 323; Haynes, 267, 274, 279, 295, and 302, and Forbes, i. 481. Monluc, says Camden, was "a man not averse from the protestant profession," Orig. i. 50, Transf. 39. Monluc, says Throgmorton more boldly but less credibly, "is a protestant" (Forbes, i. 224).

blunder concerning the year. Yet it is a very clear one.

Only *five* days after the date of the commission, and on the *seventh* of June, Randan appears in the *north* of *England*, and at *Newcastle upon Tyne* there. He had come to London, had met Monluc there, had with him waited on Elizabeth, had shown their *second* as well as first commission to her, had fixed with Cecil the day of his and their setting out for Newcastle, had set out accordingly, and had reached it. The Queen Dowager of Scotland, says the Duke of Norfolk in a letter from Berwick on the *fourth* of June, is now encouraging the subjects of Mary with ~~the~~ intelligence; that *Randan is coming to Scotland*, and that Monluc, who was bishop of Valence, is returning with him. She is showing them, he says, "the newes of *Randan*, and of *the bishop's* "*retorne again (a)*." Monluc had returned to Newcastle, Randan had come with him, they had entered into treaty with Cecil there, and had already held one formal meeting of business, with him; when Cecil wrote an account of it to Elizabeth. Yet Cecil wrote on the *eighth*. We know this, from an answer to his letter. We know it also, from the letter itself. The answer is made by the privy council, and dated "from Greenwich the *twelfth* of June 1560." We, they say, "have received your letters of the *eighth* of "this month, and do thereby perceive, what you "have done with *the French commissioners*, upon

(a) Haynes, 322.

" your

“ your *first meeting with them (a)*. ” “ We have
 “ spent,” says Cecil himself in that very letter,
 to which this is an answer, “ *all this afternoone*
 “ in talk with *theis Frenchmen*, and have entered
 “ into many matters ; but *Randan* affirmeth pre-
 “ cisely, that he may not treate of any matter of
 “ Scotland, without speche with the Queen Dow-
 “ ager ; much hath bene sayd this daye, on both
 “ parts :—from *Newcastle* the *eighth* of June in
 “ the night, 1560 (*b*). ” Cecil therefore reached
 Newcastle, on Friday the *seventh* of June ; as,
 in two of his letters before, he expressly declares
 his intention to reach it (*c*). Randan also reach-
 ed Newcastle, on or before Friday the *seventh* of
 June ; and spent all the afternoon of Saturday,
 in negotiating with Cecil there. This he *could*
 do, by the *genuine* commission. It was dated *May*
 the second. Betwixt *May* the *second* and *June* the
seventh, he *could* “ transport himself ” out of
 France to Newcastle. But, betwixt *June* the *se-*
cond and *June* the *seventh*, he *could not possibly do*
so. And we see another proof of the forgery, in
 another falshood of the date.

But we may prosecute this argument of detec-
 tion, still further. We have other letters of Ce-
 cil's, which carry it on (if possible) to a still fuller
 point of perfection. “ The French,” says Cecil
 in one of them, “ lye *this* night at *Durham*,
 “ and we at *Borrobbriegg* ; we will be at New-
 “ castle, with God's leave, on Frydaye :—we are
 “ marvellosly troobled, for that we now under-

(a) Keith. App. 48.

(b) Haynes, 324.

(c) Ibid. 323.

“stand, that the *train* of *Monsieur de Randan* be
 “allmost all captaynes and ingynors, which
 “meane to be occupied both at Berwyk and in
 “Scotland, to enter, if they can, into Lethe :
 “if *their salve conduct* served not, they shuld not
 “depart from *Newcastle* :—and so I end full
 “wery ; *fifth Junii, 1560 (a).*” Randan there-
 fore had received a safe conduct from Elizabeth,
 for himself and his retinue ; had set out from
 London, under the protection of it, *before* Cecil ;
 was now going his appointed stages towards New-
 castle, equally with Cecil, but one full day’s jour-
 ney *a-head* of him ; and on the *fifth* of June,
 only *three* days after he was, by his forged com-
 mission, at Remorentin in France, was actually to
 lie at *Durham* in the north of England.

Indeed Cecil himself, who was thus *fifty* miles
behind Randan on the *fifth*, was on the *second*,
 the very day of the date of the commission, at
 Burleigh-house near Stamford in Lincolnshire, on
 his way to Newcastle. “I am come to my howse
 “here at Burley,” he says, “rubbyng on betwixt
 “helth and sicknes ; and yet my hart serveth me
 “to get the mastery :—we trust to be at New-
 “castle, by the 6th or 7th : this *second* of June,—
 “1560 (*b*).” Cecil also appears from another
 letter, to be at *Royston* in his way to Newcastle,
 about *noon* of the *last* of *May* ; and consequently
 to have set out from *London*, in the *morning* of
May the *thirty-first*. “At two of the clock in
 “the afternoone this last of May,” he tells us,

(a) Haynes, 323.

(b) Ibid., 320.

“I am

I am in Royſton, in no apparent doubt of health; and yet, by the ſowlneſs of the wether, ſuſtained to ryde to Huntyngton untill to-morrow (*a*).” He had originally intended to ſet out, in company with the French commiſſioners, on May the 29th. “Mr. Secretary Cecil, and Mr. Wotton,” ſays Mr. Killigrew in a letter to Greenwich on the 28th of May, “depart northwardes to-morrow, with the French commiſſioners, for the better ending of theſe troubles in Scotland (*b*).” But the plan was afterwards altered. The French commiſſioners ſet off on the 28th, and Cecil followed them at ſome diſtance behind. And, as Cecil ſet out for Newcaſtle, on May the thirty-fiſt; as he reached Royſton that evening; lay at Burleigh-houſe, on the ſecond of June next morrow; reached Borough-bridge on the fiſth; and came to Newcaſtle on the ſeventh: ſo Randolph, who was 50 miles a-head of him on the fiſth, was to lie at Durham the night he lay at Borough-bridge, and who, he *knew*, was to lie there that night; muſt have ſet out from London one day before him, and have begun his journey for Newcaſtle on the thirtieth of May; juſt four days before the very date of his ſecond commiſſion, when, by that date, he is repreſented to be in France, ſtill without a commiſſion, and ſtill empowered to croſs over into England. He even came to the court at London, as Cecil informs us, ſome days before. He came ſo early, on the twenty-fiſt of May. “Monsieur de Ran-

(*a*) Haynes, 319.(*b*) Forbes, i. 501.

"dan," says Cecil in a letter of the 22d, "hath taken good leasure, and came *yesterday* hither to the court (a)." "M. de Randan," Cecil in his diary adds, "came to *join* with De Valence to go into Scotland; and brought a commission for themselves, and bishop of Amiens and D'Oyzel (b)." But we can trace his motions backward, to a still higher date. On the *tenth* of May, as Cecil informs our embassadours in Spain, "*now* we understand *newly*, that one Monsieur de Randan—is come to the *seafyde*, with a *new* commission to go into Scotland." And he actually appears from Throgmorton's letters to Cecil, to have set out on the *fourth* of May for England; *two* days after the *real* commission, and no less than *twenty-nine* days before the *spurious* one (c).

We have thus such a monstrous and over-grown absurdity again, as unites with the precedent one concerning the year, to crown all the rest completely. Both indeed unite to form such a damning proof of forgery, in the commission itself, and in those articles which are written on the same paper with, and are closed upon the paper by, *this* very commission; as must now strike upon every eye, come level to every judgment, and go forcibly to every heart. And these "princes of the congregation," these "men of renown" in the annals of Scotch protestantism, appear from the

(a) Forbes, i. 460.

(b) Murdin, 750, with a false date to it. There are *two* others in 751, May 30 for 31st, and June 10 for 7th.

(c) Forbes, i. 448—449, 433 and 437.

whole, to have been capable of any enormity, in violence or in fraud; but to have been reined-in by that UNSEEN HAND, which reins-in equally the congenial spirits of the abyfs; to have been allowed only such a length of malignant cunning, as should permit them to execute their villanies at the moment, and to colour them over to all, who were either willing, unsuspicious, or indolent enough to be deceived by them; and yet to have fallen into such blunders and absurdities in the operation, as, on a strict scrutiny, would clearly lay open their villanies to the publick eye (a).

— III. —

So fabricated, Murray, Ruthven, and Lethington united, to furnish Cecil with a copy of it. They thus sent a pretended commission, and a forged agreement, to him; for the true. The

(a) I was once in hopes of drawing an additional proof of forgery, though it would have been all superfluous, from the *scal* date, *Remorentin*. With this view I traced carefully the steps of the French court, in the letters of Throgmorton, &c. published by Forbes. But unluckily Throgmorton's letters, &c. end in the 1st volume of Forbes, upon May the 19th 1560; just *four* days *before* the date of the pretended commission. And the 2d volume leaps away at once, to July 1562. Where the intermediate letters are, does not appear. Perhaps they are lodged in those un-published parts of Forbes's collection, which were a few years ago in the possession of Lord Hardwick; which are so still, I presume; and which it would be a great kindness to the lovers of historical truth, in his Lordship to publish.

commission he must have seen at a glance, to be all a fiction; as he must have known the true to be very different. The agreement he must equally have seen, to be a fiction too; as he must have observed it to comprise articles, which he knew he himself had refused to ask, which he knew he himself had declared would never be granted, and which he also knew had never been granted at all. Yet he took it and the commission, from them. He laid up the paper containing both, in his grand repository of papers. He fixed no brand of infamy, upon it. He even fixed on it a stamp of authenticity. He put this English title to it, though it had already a title in French; "Accord betwixt the French Kyng and Queen of Scots, and the nobilitie of Scotland, 3. die Julii 1560." He also put this label at the back of it, "3. Julii 1560, articles of accord inter Regem et Reginam Francie et Scotie ac nob. et populum Scotiæ (a)." And he thus made himself a party, in all this infamous imposition. Nor need we now to wonder, at the hardness of iniquity in all. They were all confederated together in daring sin. We have seen Murray and Lethington before, Ruthven being then dead, producing the famous letters at York in *Scotch*, re-producing them a few weeks afterwards at Westminster in *French*, and Cecil supporting them as genuine in

(a) Keith, 137 and 144. The real date, however, is the *sixth* of July. But he dated it the *third* here, as he does in Haynes, 389, from some agreement made for it upon that day (see 355).

both,

both. And Cecil, no doubt, knew the agreement, the commission, and the letters, to be all equally spurious; and yet, for the safety of protestantism forsooth! and for the security of England belike! pretended to believe them all genuine.

But he did more than this. His copy is written wholly in French upon *one* paper. Only it has these words in our own language, at the close. "This is the trew copy of the originall, conferred and collationed. James Stewart. Ruthven. W. Maitland." These "three signatures," says Keith, "are in the proper handwriting of the subscribers (*a*)."¹ But Anderson speaks of the whole thus. "I also found in the Cotton library," he says, "an authentick copy of the *accord* betwixt Francis and Mary, and the nobility of Scotland, in July 1560; and of the *powers* given by that King and Queen, to Monluc—and—Randan—: both these papers, being in the original French as signed by Monluc and Randan, are ATTESTED under the hands of Lord James Stewart,—and of the Lord Ruthven, and Secretary Maitland; which paper [containing both] is *marked by Secretary Cecil*, and THE ATTESTATION, signed by the foresaid three persons, SEEMS TO BE WRITTEN IN CECIL'S OWN HAND (*b*)."² If Anderson here meant what his words seem at first to import, that the very signatures are made, he apprehends, by the hand of Cecil; he then contradicts

(a) Keith, 144.

(b) General preface, xxxiii—xxxiv.

Keith directly. And as he actually saw the paper himself, and as the other knew it only from his anonymous transcriber in London (*a*) ; the testimony of Anderson must preponderate greatly in the scale. But, on an examination of the words, Anderson appears to mean only, that the *attesting words*, prefixed to the signatures, “seem to be “written in Cecil’s own hand.” He and Keith are thus reconciled. The *signatures* are “in the “proper handwriting of the subscribers.” The whole is “*attested* under the *hands*” of Murray, Ruthven, and Lethington. But the *attestation* itself seems to be in Cecil’s writing. And the fact coincides with this ; the clause of attestation appearing, on examining it, to be in the same hand-writing with the indorsement, and consequently Cecil’s ; the attesting signatures appearing equally, upon examination, *not* to be in the hand-writing of Cecil at all, and even to be, as Keith has already assured us, “in the proper handwriting of the subscribers” themselves (*b*).”

In this state of the copy then, it appears to have been presented to Cecil, *without any authentication at all*. It was presented too, *after* the parliament of 1560 had ratified the spurious original. This is apparent from a sentence, at the close of the copy, and immediately before the at-

(*a*) Keith, preface vi.

(*b*) From an inspection made of the paper, and a copy sent me of this part of it, by a gentleman of Gray’s Inn, who was engaged for me by my old acquaintance, the friendly and learned Thomas Astle, Esq. of the State-paper office, &c. London.

testation.

testation. It runs thus in the French, and thus in a translation. After the copy of the commission in French is given, strangely follows in French too this description of the signatures:
 "Signe Francoys Marie et sur le Replis Par le
 "Roy et royne de laubespine Seelle sur double
 "queue de cyre Jaulne

" Ainsi signe
 " Monluc E De Valence Randan."

Then comes still more strangely a preamble of subscription for Scotch peers, all in French likewise: "Et nous subscriptz tant pour nous que
 "pour la reste de la noblesse descoffe promettons
 "et nous obligerons a ce que dessus." "Signed
 "Francis Mary and upon the Fold By the King
 "and queen de laubespine Sealed on a double
 "queue of yellow wax.

" Thus signed
 " Monluc E De Valence Randan.

"And we underwritten as well for ourselves as
 "for the rest of the nobility of Scotland promise and shall oblige ourselves to what is
 "above (a)."

The last clause was evidently meant, for a copy of the ratification made by the parliament of Scotland, in the subscriptions of its members to it. This therefore dates the copy, posteriorly to that act. And the copy was presented, with the words

(a) Keith, 144, is not strictly accurate here.

†

of

of ratification in the promise of subscriptions, and yet, most unnaturally, with a total omission of all the subscriptions themselves. It also pretended to be a true copy, of the original so ratified. Yet it had no attestation of its truth. It thus came forward, with all the suspectable appearance of knavery. It had the sly and sidelong look of a conscious villain, in its eye.

Cecil saw this, and endeavoured to correct the obliquity of its aspect. He did not procure the omitted list of subscribing nobles, to be added. But he procured the signatures of Lethington, Ruthven, and Murray, to a form of attestation which he wrote himself, and to which are affixed their names. And the very *quality* of the *language* used in the attesting clause, "this is the true copy of the originall, conferred and collationed;" a clause certainly not Scotch, and as certainly English; coincides directly with Anderson's and my own remark concerning the handwriting, and confirms it decisively (a).

But *when* did Cecil draw up this attesting clause, and *when* did the attesters sign it, *after* the ratification of the original in parliament? This very

(a) The words too are seemingly Cecil's. So in the journal of the English commissioners, where the words in general were dictated probably by Cecil, and where they have been actually "altered and interlined" by Cecil; we read of "the copies being *collationed*" (Goodall, ii. 235). And so likewise, in the books of the privy council, and in an entry that has again been "altered and interlined" by Cecil, the letters are said to have been "*conferred* and compared,—in *collation* wherof no difference was found" (Goodall, ii. 256).

ament ordered thanks to be returned to Elizabeth, for her friendly assistance lent to them in the rebellion; and a formal proposal to be made of a marriage with the weak and fanatick son of the next heir of the crown, the Duke of Chatraut; thus adding presumption to presumption, and finally taking a step that must naturally be followed, if it had been pursued, to the resignation of the crown of Scotland into the hands of Elizabeth. With these thanks and with this proposal sent, in the end of September, Morton, Mearns, and *William Maitland commonly called Lethington* (a). They came to London. The first brought, no doubt, the copy of the forged treaty with him. And the copy is apparently written with his hand (b). Then Cecil affixed his seal of authentication. Lethington subscribed immediately. The other two subscribed it afterwards. And as Lethington, in this course of acting, would naturally leave a space for the attestations of Murray and Ruthven before his; and his and theirs would as naturally not be exactly equal and correspondent in their positions; so his seals actually *below* and *upon one side* of theirs. The attestation and signatures are in this form :

“ This is The Trew Copy of y^e

“ originall cōferred and collationed

“ James Stewart

“ Ruthven

“ W. Maitland (c).”

But

(a) Knox, 257, and Keith, 154—157; Haynes, 363—364.

(b) From the inspection of the gentleman of Gray's Inn.

(c) From the same inspection. Murray, who signs here as

James

But by this or by any mode of procuring the signatures, which Cecil could possibly practise; he shows us strongly his zeal, for the cause of rebellion in Scotland. He appears more zealous for it, than even the rebels themselves. They had declined to sanction their own forgery, by their own attestations. He knew it to be a forgery, as well as they. Yet he would not allow them, to shrink an inch from their own fabrication of iniquity. They must stand to their deeds with resolution, even when the impelling reason for the deeds, was no longer operating upon them. And he thus left the whole very strangely, without any supplied list of subscribers to the ratification; and without any specified date of day, month, or year, to the note of authentication. He was at all this trouble, in order to corroborate what he knew to be a forgery, and to obtrude it upon the credulous for a genuine paper. He therefore superadded his own attestation to all, in his title and in his label to the whole. And he finally raised the serpent, that was only crawling upon the ground before him, under the sense of its just humiliation; furnished it with wings, for flight; and gave it a larger range of mischief for a season (a).

— IV. —Nor

James Stewart, was made Earl of Mar in February 1561-2 (Keith, 215). Yet he still continued to sign as *James Stewart*, many years afterwards (Keith, 300).

(a) See the historical mischief, that has been done by ~~this~~ forgery, in Spotswood, 148, who is the first that adopted it
 fol

— IV. —

Nor are we yet arrived at the full extent, of Cecil's concern in this vile forgery. He was a party in the villany, from the very beginning. And, as at the very beginning he imposed upon Elizabeth by it, so he wanted only to prosecute the imposition upon her, by this accessory villany at the end.

When he wrote that remarkable letter of June the 21st, upon which I have dwelt so particularly before; he had found it impossible, to insert the articles that Murray suggested, in the Scotch part of the treaty. These, he had then found, would be “such dishonour to the Prince, as NEITHER “WILL BE GRANTED, NOR CAN REASONABLY “BE DEMANDED, for subjects. He found himself compelled therefore, to “yield so much to “the French Queen's honour in behalf of her “subjects,” as to give up the articles entirely;

for genuine; in Dr. Robertson, i. 234—235; in Mr. Guthry, vi. 122—134; and in Dr. Stuart, 179—186. These authors overlook all the internal marks of forgery, upon the agreement and the commission; and even the very anachronisms themselves, in the dates of the latter. This is done by the first, in the unsuspecting credulity of his nature. And it is done by the others, who were much superiour to him in sagacity to see, and in spirit to seize, any notes of spurioussness; from that blinding heat for liberty, which burns and blazes so extravagantly in our modern histories, and, wherever liberty is even distantly concerned, precludes all exercise of sagacity, and smothers all exertion of spirit, in their writers.

because

because he foresaw, the French commissioners would rather break off the treaty, than admit them, and because he knew, as he says to Elizabeth, that "your coffers" are not at present "full" enough, to "maintain but one year's war" against the French. And Camden accordingly unites with Cecil in assuring us, that Cecil would not suffer the requisitions of Murray to be insisted upon. But then Cecil instantly banded with Murray, to obtain by fraud what they could not acquire by fairness. The Scotch treaty was to be concluded upon the terms, to which alone the French commissioners would assent. Then Murray was to forge a new treaty, to insert in it all that he wanted, and to impose the false treaty for the genuine upon the parliament. And Cecil was to concur in the business, to represent in his dispatches to Elizabeth the obnoxious articles as granted, and to play Murray's game of imposition beforehand. Cecil might thus magnify his own services, to Elizabeth. He might seem to be securing important points, for her rebel associates of Scotland. And he might have the credit with her, of effecting for them in appearance, what he found himself all unable to effect in reality.

Accordingly the very man, who in his letter of June the 21st acquaints Elizabeth herself, with the impossibility of gaining some points in favour of the rebels, as points that "could not reasonably be demanded," and "would not be granted" if they were; even he informs Elizabeth herself afterwards, of those very points being

ing inserted in the treaty. Yet he does not do this, by adverting to his own declaration before; marking how much more successful he had been, than he once thought it possible to be; and then noting, with an air of triumph, the unexpected concessions made by the French. No! He draws off from his previous declaration, without noticing it. He chuses not to mark the deviation, that he may not betray the contradiction. He wraps up in the mist of art, what he could not exhibit to the eye. He folds himself in his own disguises, to conceal what he would not have to be known. And he manifests his knavery, by his manner. He had explicitly assured Elizabeth, that he could not demand the terms. He had equally assured her too, that he should not obtain them if he did. Camden also informs us additionally, that they were neither obtained nor demanded. And yet Cecil, without a single reference to his own observations before; without a single intimation, how *he* came to ask what was not to be asked, and how *they* came to grant what he was sure they would never grant; and with only the bold agility of fraud; leaps to the conclusion at once, and inserts the articles as actually asked and actually granted.

On the 23d of June; only *two* days after his memorable letter to Elizabeth above, he apprizes Sir W. Petre, one of her council; that the French commissioners have returned an answer to the Scotch, and have assented to their *seventh* article. In this he inserts two of the very points, that “could not be demanded,” and “would not be granted.”

“granted.” They agree, he says, “qu’il y
 “aura ung Conseil, de tel nombre qu’il sera ad-
 “visé, sans l’intervention et consentement du-
 “quel ne pourra rien estre ordonné, en matiere
 “d’estat, n’y en quelque aultre que ce soit (a).”
 And, as he adds, “consentent les dictés Deputés,
 “que le Roy n’y la Royne n’ordonneront guerre
 “n’y paix par decá, sinon par le conseil et advis
 “des trois estats, suivant la coustume du pais et
 “de leurs predécessurs (b).” These are plainly
 two of the offensive articles, with all their of-
 fensiveness rank about them. These are two of
 the three, that Murray proposed to Cecil, and
 that Cecil rejected, as “nec a subditis præpo-
 “nenda, nec a principibus concedenda.” Yet,
 by Murray’s and Cecil’s co-operating slight of
 hand, we have them both here in the treaty, as
 required by the subjects, and as conceded by the
 sovereigns, of Scotland. Murray is thus made
 to require from the French commissioners, what
 Cecil and Camden assure us was never required
 from them at all. And the commissioners are
 here made to concede, what Camden and Cecil
 assure us would not be, and was not, conceded
 at all. The commissioners indeed are made to
 grant them both, without the slightest hesitation.
 They grant them at the *first* requisition. And
 the fraudulence of the paper betrays itself at once,
 by its unnaturalness. But Cecil is not content
 with this. He will go farther. He therefore
 adds a marginal note, to the article. “This ar-

(a) Haynes, 331.

(b) Ibid. ibid.

“ticle,”

"ticle," he there tells us, "is very loofely made; but it is *now better accorded*, for the "*fuerty* of Scotland (*a*)."
He is not fatisfied with the violent introduction of two fuch fweeping claufes as thefe, into the treaty. But, with the cuftomary over-afting of forgery, he pitches his bar a whole length beyond the mark. He makes the article to be ftill "better accorded for the "*fuerty* of Scotland," even than he has given it himfelf, from the writing of the French commiffioners themfelves. And they, who were fure not to grant fuch points; who were fo fure not to grant them, that Cecil would not risk the experiment of afking them; and who were not afked, and therefore could not grant: even they grant them at once, we know not why, only two days afterward; and even they grant fomething more, we know not what, additional to them.

On the eighth of July afterwards, Cecil unites with his colleague Wotton, to acquaint Elizabeth herfelf with the particulars of the treaty. In this difpatch he *corrects* his former, as he corrected an article in the former by a marginal annotation before; and adds the omitted article to the other two. He recites the other two, as parts of the treaty; and then fubjoins the third. "In the accords of Scotland" it is provided, he fays, thus: "the King or Queene fhall never make "warre nor peace here, without the confent of "the three eftats; Item, for governance of the "policy of this realme, the three eftats fhall

(a) Haynes, 331.

“choose twenty four, of the which the Queene
 “shall choose seven, and the estats five, to make
 “a counsell of twelve, without the greater of
 “which number nothing shall be done for the
 “policy (a).” And, as he adds for another article, “all things done here against the lawes
 “shall be discharged, and a law of oblivion shall
 “be established in this parlement, excepting only
 “such as the estats here shall judge unworthy of
 “this privilege (b).” We thus see the French
 commissioners, improving in condescension, and
 advancing in civility, as we move along. They,
 who were so stiff before in their principles and
 practices, that Cecil would not venture to propose,
 what his associate Murray longed to secure;
 by the wild enchantments of imposture, are reduced
 into the most supple and conceding of all human
 beings. The formidable mastiff is charmed down
 into my lady’s lap-dog. And they, who were *not*
 solicited to grant such an article as this, even in the
very first requisition that was made them; are yet
 represented as granting it afterwards, and even, to
 all appearance, as granting it without any requisition
 at all.

Throughout this whole business, Cecil was
 plainly acting in concert with Murray. But he
 shows it more plainly, by two slight strokes of his
 pen. When he pretends to give us the answers
 of the French, to the requisitions of the Scotch;
 he notices one article, concerning the restoration
 of the clergy to their estates, goods, and jurisdiction.

(a) Haynes, 355.

(b) Ibid. 356.

tions. But then he affixes a darkly sly note, to the side of it: "this is lyke to be tempered other-
" wife (*a*)."
He thus shows us dimly, his own foreknowledge of that scandalous dishonesty, which Murray and his accomplices *then* intended to practise, and actually practised afterwards, against the clergy. But he speaks in a more intelligible language, when he comes to inform Elizabeth herself of the treaty. He then says thus: "Item, all the complaints of the deprived
" clergie shall be hard in this next parlement,
" and reformation shalbe made by the three
" estates, *which we think will be light ynoughe* (*b*)."
And he appears from the sun breaking in upon us through these two crevices together, to have been let into the secret of that cursed confederacy, which was afterwards pointed with so much baseness upon the clergy, in the very moments in which it was first formed.

Such a bold associate with Murray in forgery, and in all flagitiousness, was Cecil! Yet he was not so bold a forger as Murray himself. He did not pretend, like Murray, to new-form the very treaty, and to substitute his falsified copy for the true original. No! He took a lower station in the element of forgery. He left that eagle-genius in falsification, to mount upwards with his daring wing, and to face the very sun of truth with an unshrinking eye. He was more owl-eyed himself in his forgeries. He gives Sir W. Petre, only *his own abridgment* of the French replies to

(*a*) Haynes, 331.

(*b*) Ibid. 356.

the Scotch: "*abriege* des responses faictes par
 " les Deputez du Roy et de la Roynne, aux Seig-
 " neurs de la Congregation (*a*).” He also gives
 Elizabeth, only *his own abstract* of the articles
 in the treaty. “As for the *substance* of our ac-
 “ corde,” he says, “your Majesty shall please
 “ to understande, that yt consisteth in these
 “ poynts—; this is the *somme* of our treaty, which,
 “ with the accorde of Scotland, hath spent us six-
 “ teen dayes, that is, from the 16th of June to
 “ the thirde of July, and of that tyme *three parts*
 “ hath bene spent in according of the matters of
 “ *Scotland*,” though he himself represents the
 French, as granting two of the three grand arti-
 cles at the very first requisition, and even as
 granting the third afterwards, though it was not
 in the requisition at all; “as to the accords of
 “ Scotland, these be the *principal beads* ther-
 “ of (*b*).” By such a mode of proceeding as
 this, he could turn and twist the treaty into any
 form that he pleased. And he accordingly makes
 Murray to obtain by it at last, all that Murray
 reached out his ambitious hand to grasp at first;
 and all that he himself had told Murray and Eli-
 zabeth, was not even to be asked, because of the
 extravagance of it. Elizabeth therefore, though
 all unconscious of the forgery practised upon her,
 very naturally remarks to Cecil thus concerning
 it: “we see the Scotts ar *liberally* confideryd in
 “ *theyr demands*, and *almost nothing refused that*
 “ *they asked*; but our reasonable demaunds—is

(a) Haynes, 331.

(b) Ibid: 354—355.

“ not

not so wayed by the Frenche, nor brought to any such termes of indifferent recompence, as reason and equity wolde (a)." Cecil could give a false account of the treaty with Elizabeth, because he was to show the original itself to Elizabeth. But he could fling any colours that chose, out of all the various dies of forgery, to the articles with the Scotch rebels; because they were not to be exhibited to her at all. Accordingly no copy of the Scotch articles appears in his letters, to have been sent by him, either to Elizabeth or to any of her council. Even on every day upon which these articles were signed and the treaty between England and France subscribed; when he sent away one of his her-commissioners with the latter to Elizabeth, he sent no copy of the former. "*July 6,*" says in his diary, "the treaty at Edinburgh betwixt W. Cecill and D. Wotton ex parte Angliæ, et Episcopum Valentiniæ et D. de Randon ex parte Franciæ; and Sir Peter Carew sent *verwith* to the court (b)." And, what is still more, no copy has been since found among his any other papers, as either sent or brought by him to London.

This is a very remarkable circumstance. It is of itself to lay open the whole knavery. I will therefore dwell upon it.—Cecil must necessarily have taken a copy of the Scotch articles, and have either sent or brought it to London, in order to exhibit it to Elizabeth, and to deposit it

(a) Haynes, 343.

(b) Murdin, 751.

afterwards among the state-papers of her reign; *if he had not had some knavish reason, for not doing so.* Motion would always be performed in a right line, if some obstructions did not interpose to divert it into a curve. And, as we discern the obstructions in the diversion, so we know the knavery from the deviation. Had Cecil taken a copy for this purpose, he must naturally have had it authenticated, as he had one authenticated afterwards, by the addition of some signatures to it. He must *now* have had the signatures of the French commissioners, as well as of the Scotch. But to have done *this*, would have been to preclude the whole system of villany projected, and to prevent entirely the substitution of a forged treaty for the true. The copy *now* taken must necessarily be a copy of the true. This was what he could not show to Elizabeth. It would directly confront all his epistolary representations of the treaty. It would convict him of falshood. It would sink his services done to the Scotch, as low as their real level. ^{It} It would blast his character with Elizabeth, by both. But it would be still *more* hurtful. If *he* asked for a copy so authenticated, the French commissioners would undoubtedly ask for one too. And then, then the grand movement intended in forgery, would be barred up for ever. Cecil therefore acted in a very different manner. He could not suffer the French to take a copy for Mary. He could not suffer himself to take one for Elizabeth. He must affect to consider the Scotch articles, as in truth they virtually were, as merely a few formal concessions on the side of the

the French commissioners ; as something granted by them to the Scotch rebels, *when* it was properly accepted by the parliament ; but as nothing to be signed by the Scotch, *before* it was so accepted. And accordingly we find the Scotch nobles to have *then* signed the treaty, *when* it came before them in the parliament. “ We under-
 “ written,” they *then* say, “ as well for ourselves
 “ as for the rest of the nobility of Scotland, do
 “ promise and shall oblige ourselves to what is
 “ above.” In this view of the Scotch treaty, to have a copy of it taken at present, for either the French or the English commissioners, might easily be made, by the artful representations of policy, to seem impertinent and ridiculous. The parliament must first subscribe it. It will then become a regular paper of state. Then the French commissioners will receive a copy of course, in the ratification sent from the parliament to Mary. And then the English commissioners may have another, from the Scotch. In this manner only, could the train be laid, that actually blew up the Scotch part of the treaty into the air, and lodged another in the room of it. In this manner might it be easily laid. And what confirms all this reasoning entirely, and decisively proves Cecil to have had no copy of the treaty at the time ; he actually *supplied his want of such an one*, with a copy taken by Murray, Ruthven, and Lethington afterwards, and with one taken *after* the parliament had accepted and signed the spurious treaty for the true.

This fact speaks sufficiently to the point. Cecil

neither took nor received a copy of the Scotch articles, at the time. Such a copy would not suit the forgery designed. He therefore chose to have one taken afterwards. *Then, and then only*, would it coincide with the imposition already put upon Elizabeth. She would naturally demand a sight of the articles. He would put her off with the expectation of one, that was to be sent him from the parliament, as soon as the original had been accepted and subscribed there. One accordingly came. By this time, all that was projected had been executed. The forged articles had been ratified in parliament, and the pretended commission had been recited to it. A copy of both was now sent to Cecil, upon the same paper. This was what he wanted. He knew the commission to be spurious, yet he received it for genuine. And, though he knew the articles to be false, he accepted them as true. But the articles and the commission had been sent by the forgers, without any attestation made of their authenticity. In this naked shape, they were unfit for the eye of Elizabeth. They must have some garniture thrown around them, by way of confirmation; to calculate them for her inspection. Cecil therefore supplied the defect, by writing a clause of attestation with his own pen, at the bottom of the paper. Then he gave back the paper to the bringer, and afterwards sent it back to the senders, in a great hurry, for those signatures of authentication to the whole; which their consciousness of the forgery, and their want of solicitation to repeat an iniquity when the original occasion for it

was

was past, had induced them to omit before. The senders equally returned the paper in a great hurry, with their authenticating signatures annexed. Thus he had no time to require, and they had none to write out, a list of the parliamentary subscribers to it. The urgency of the occasion would not permit either to do so. It equally prevented any note of time, from being put to the attesting clause or to the attesting subscriptions. Elizabeth was calling for a sight of the copy. Elizabeth would naturally call for a paper, that had been long promised her; and with the more impatience for the long delay. It came back. It was now authenticated. It was now shown. And Cecil, by connivance and concurrence, dipped his hands boldly in that foul cistern of forgery, in which the Scotch had been plunging before, and were even now plunging, with so much pollution and audaciousness; and dipped them, not with the view of imposing upon posterity, as may seem at first to have been his aim; but with the view, that alone can strike upon the *sensorium* of a knave, that of acting to the present moment, of gratifying an immediate interest, and of now corroborating the imposition for his own sake to Elizabeth, which for his own sake he had begun upon Elizabeth before.

All serves to show us, how cautious we should be of admitting any papers for authentick, that are unfavourable to the name of Mary or her mother, and come out of the repository of this patron and practiser of forgery against them. He patronized those forgeries of Murray's, which
were

were exhibited to the commissioners of Elizabeth. He practised forgery himself upon Elizabeth, in his dispatches; in the title, which he prefixed to the pretended commission and spurious articles; and in the label, which he affixed to the back of them. And as Elizabeth, who could afterwards manage this diabolical engine of forgery herself, appears to have suffered a little from its explosions at first; so Cecil, we see, was the engineer, that must have introduced her originally to a knowledge of this formidable artillery, and was previously introduced himself by Lethington, that great father of forgery in Britain, at the time of the Scotch treaty in 1560. But the whole serves also to show us, how even more cautious we should also be, of admitting any papers for authentick, that have merely the evidence of the Scotch reformers themselves, for their authenticity. Those reformers have been already convicted of so many forgeries, that we cannot be too suspicious of their impositions. We now see, that their practices of forgery began with their outrages of rebellion, and almost even with their very origin; that the fellest and foulest serpents of earth, as it were, swarmed around the very cradle of Scotch presbyterianism; and that this young Hercules of vice, as he lay there, smiled with satisfaction at the sight of the monsters, clasped them to his breast, and kissed them as his favourites. Nor was his progress in life, unanswerable to his outset in infancy. The letters, the sonnets, the contracts, and the long list of other forgeries before

before and behind (*a*), were only those productions of the *man*, that were naturally to be expected from such an *infant*. But there are many forgeries beside, I doubt not, which have been imposed upon the world by these rebel reformers of Scotland, and still maintain their credit on the page of history. Their horrible mass of fiction has been little examined yet. The papist seems to have been restrained from examining it, by the fear of offending a party, who, in Scotland particularly, have shown themselves as tyrannical in power as they had proved themselves rebellious out of it. And the protestant has been long sleeping, under the poisonous shade of imposture. An awakening spirit of suspicion, however, will now go forth. The protestant will start away, from the covert of his manchineel tree. The papist will throw off the fetters, that have lain so long upon his mind and pen. The forgeries of the Scotch reformers, will be examined with a critical eye, and be held up with a bold hand. And we may thus come at last, and after the purgations of half a century perhaps, to something like an authentick history of the reformation in Scotland (*b*).

No. XV.

(*a*) See next No. in this Appendix.

(*b*) Let me here observe, that Dr. Stuart's history of this reformation, in my opinion, has fallen far short of what the world had reason to expect from such a writer. I read it not indeed, till I had read his history of Mary. I was therefore the more disappointed with that, in proportion as I had been pleased with this. There is little of the good-sense and discernment,

No. XV.

CONCERNING SOME OTHER FORGERIES.

HAVING in p. 322—328 shown the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland, to be in actual existence and actual power, so many months before Buchanan and Knox assert them to have been revived by Mary; and even to be in the full exercise of their authority, no less than three years before: we come to see, not merely a rebel falsification of history concerning the point, but a train of formal FORGERIES made by the rebels. And I wish here to prosecute the argument, into this new point of discovery; and to add three forgeries more, to the many that I have detected already.

cernment, which the historian of Mary displays, to be traced in the historian of the reformation. Nor can I refrain from saying, however reluctantly, of my predecessor in the work of vindication; that there is more judiciousness and sagacity in one or two notes of Mr. Hume's history (v. 26, 30, and 32), than in the whole of his. And all the apology which can be made for him, is, That an eagle requires a train of years, to form it into the king of birds; that even a Stua could not all at once disengage himself, from the manacles of rebel imposture; that he saw not into the forgeries of the rebels, before he had advanced into the annals of Mary; and that he had no opportunity of showing his acquired insight afterwards, in a *second* edition of his prior history.

— I. —

same time," says Knox, when he is of the kirk-affembly held on the 25th of DECEMBER 1566, "the Bischop of Sanct Androis, BY MEANS OF THE ERLE OF BOTHWELL, procured a wryting from the Quenis Majesty, to be obeyed within the diocesse of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as *besoir*, in *tyme of popery*, wer used in the Consistory; and *tharefoir* to *discharge* the *new commissiouners (a)*." Yet "the new commissiouners," *commissaries* as they are generally called, were ver discharged at all. "All such causes" too, as *besoir*, in *tyme of popery*, wer used in the Consistory," were still used there at the original pointment of commissaries. And the very Earl, who is here said to have occasioned the re-erection of the consistory in *December* 1566, appears in it very consistory *ten months before*; making use of its powers, in order to obtain a dispensation from Rome by it.

But, as Knox goes on, "for the same purpose" the archbishop "came to Edinburgh in JANUARY, having a cumpany of one hundred horses or more; intending to tak possessioun, according to his gift lately obtained (*b*);" that is, to set upon the exercise of his new power, to constitute officers, and to open a court, there. Yet he appears in this very city, and in the month of

(a) Knox, 403.

(b) Ibid. *ibid.*

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— I. —

“ At the same time,” says Knox, when he is speaking of the kirk-assembly held on the 25—27th of DECEMBER 1566, “ the Bischop of Sanct Androis, BY MEANS OF THE ERLE OF BOTHWELL, procured a wryting from the Quenis Majesty, to be obeyed within the diocesse of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as *befoir*, in *tyme of popery*, wer used in the Consistory; and *tharefoir* to *discharge* the *new commissiouners (a)*.” Yet “ the new commissioners,” or *commissaries* as they are generally called, were never discharged at all. “ All such causes” too, “ as *befoir*, in *tyme of popery*, wer used in the Consistory,” were still used there at the original appointment of commissaries. And the very Earl, who is here said to have occasioned the re-erection of the consistory in *December* 1566, appears in that very consistory *ten months before*; making use of its powers, in order to obtain a dispensation from Rome by it.

But, as Knox goes on, “ for the same purpose” the archbishop “ came to Edinburgh in JANUARY, having a cumpany of one hundred horses or more; intending to tak possessioun, according to his gift lately obtained (*b*);” that is, to enter upon the exercise of his new power, to constitute officers, and to open a court, there. Yet he appears in this very city, and in the month of

(a) Knox, 403.

(b) Ibid. *ibid.*

February before, actually holding a court, actually examining witnesses, and actually attesting their depositions, under the sign manual of his prothonotary, secretary, and datary. "Depositiones," says the record concerning Bothwell above, "testium juratorum in præsentiâ Magistri Alexandri Forrest, Rectoris de Logymontrois, Prothonotarii, Secretarii, et Datarii Reverendissimi Domini et Domini Joannis Archiepiscopi Sancti Andreæ, Legati," &c. "apud Edinburgh, in cubiculo Domini Commendatarii de Lundoris, vicesimo primo die mensis Februarii, anno 1565 (a)." Nor was this merely a single and clandestine operation of authority, in the archbishop. It was such, as was frequently used at the time; This the application of a Lady Jane Gordon to it, shows strongly. This the application of a Bothwell, a protestant and a peer, one of the first of peers, and one of the foremost of protestants, shows more strongly. And the officer of the court expressly informs us, that he set his sign manual and subscription to the whole, *just as he was accustomed to do in similar cases.*—"Quas quidem depositiones testium prædictorum," he says, "Ego Magister Alexander Forrest, Rector de Logy Montrose, Prothonotarius ac Datarius prædicti Reverendissimi Domini Joannis Sancti Andreæ Archiepiscopi, ac Legati, mediis suis juramentis, corporaliter recepti, et in his scriptis redegi: testantibus meis signo et subscriptione manualibus, UT MORIS EST

(a) Tytler, 3d edit. App. 26.

‘IN SIMILIBUS, anno, mense, die, quibus supra (a).’ So plainly does this great founder of presbyterianism in Scotland, Knox, come forward to the eye, with the “honours” of forgery “blushing strong” upon his brow!

But he comes forward still more. “The provost” of Edinburgh, he adds, “being advertised thereof by the Erle of Murray;” being apprized of the archbishop’s design to open a commission *which had never been granted*, and to re-enter upon the exercise of powers, *which he had been continually exercising before*; “they,” meaning, as the context in strictness suggests, the provost and Murray, but really meaning, no doubt, the provost and citizens of Edinburgh, “sent “to the Bischop thrie or four of the *Counsaill*,” not privy counsellors surely, sent by the provost, but members of the common-council; “desiring “him to desist from the said matter, for fear of “trouble and seditioun that might rise thereupon;” a desire, if these were privy counsellors, very absurd to be expressed to *him*, and, if they were merely common-council men, infinitely absurd to be intimated by *them*: “quher- “by he was perswaded to *desist* at that tyme (b).” He complied, it seems, with the very absurd requests of these privy counsellors; or he yielded to the infinitely absurd desires, of these common-

(a) Tytler, App. 26.

(b) Knox, 403. So in 370, “the provost and counsaill;” 371, “provost, bayliffe, and counsaill;” 381, “the counsaill “of Edinburgh,” &c.

council men. He was afraid of a sedition and tumult in the town, if he exercised that authority in it, which he had been perpetually exercising in it, without molestation, before. He therefore opened *not* his commission. He formed *no* court. He exerted *no* authority. And Knox, like many a narrative liar of modern days, in the prosecution of his forged tale has forgot the very purpose, for which he forged it. Long habituated to lying, the mind seems to lose even that rectitude and consistency of understanding, which is requisite to the compleat fabrication of falsehoods. *This* was planned apparently, to abuse Mary and Bothwell; to show her reviving the jurisdiction of the archbishop, for the sake of Bothwell's future divorcement from his wife; and to exhibit *him*, as obtaining the revival with a view to the same object. Yet it suddenly turns off at the close, from the track in which it had begun to move, and along which it intended to proceed to the end. It ends in no actual revival at all. It ends in an attempt to revive, but an attempt frustrated by the cunning of Murray, and baffled by the steadiness of some *counsellors*. And it thus stands in an amazing contradiction, to its own evident purpose in the whole; to the fact before, of the archbishop's holding one court for Bothwell's dispensation; and to the fact afterwards, of the archbishop's holding another for Bothwell's divorcement. So much more plainly did this unhappy man, who appears to have been actuated with a real zeal for reformation, suffer himself to become a knave in his zeal; to sink into a forger,

for

or the reformation; and to degrade the high professor and warm preacher of a purer Christianity, into a mere PROTESTANT JESUIT.

But it is dreadful to observe the rapid gradations of ascent, in the wickedness of the human heart. Knox appears only a modest forger, when we come to compare his fabrication with those of his disciples and followers. A double portion of his spirit was inherited by them. And they went on in such a bolder strain of forgery afterwards, as enables us to detect their impositions, with a still brighter beam of evidence.

— II. —

Knox himself presumed not to say, that any farther opposition was made, to this pretended renovation of the spiritual courts. His *silence* in *such* a cause, is a decisive evidence against any. But he is not merely silent. He relates the whole in such a manner, as actually precludes all suppositions of any other opposition. He relates it as one whole. The Queen signed an order, for restoring the archbishop's jurisdiction. The archbishop came to Edinburgh, to execute the order. Murray apprized the city of his intention. The city interposed with the archbishop, to prevent the execution. And the archbishop did *not* prosecute the intention, and did *not* proceed to execution. This is complete in all its parts. It precludes all possibility of addition. Yet Calderwood, and yet the general assembly, break through

the impossibility, and make an addition. They even make an astonishing one.

Calderwood, who did not write till nearly a century after Knox, says that KNOX HIMSELF ACTED A VERY CONSPICUOUS PART, in this business. Knox himself, whatever he himself may say, *made a very remarkable opposition* to the Queen's commission. Knox *did not know* of *his own* opposition to it, and yet Calderwood did. Knox did not know, that he himself wrote a circular letter to his brethren, to put them upon struggling against popery in *his* religious manner, and to form a general confederacy against these rising courts of the church. Yet he did do it. Calderwood attests the fact. Calderwood gives us a copy of this very letter. How then can we entertain a doubt? Knox therefore, who was long reputed a prophet as well as a saint by the presbyterians of Scotland, and who even arrogated to himself the honours of a prophet in his lifetime (*a*), must have written it in a prophetick delirium, that left no traces of the act upon his mind afterwards.

But let us appeal *from Philip drunk to Philip sober*. Knox in his sober senses has informed us, that in January 1566-7 Murray apprized the provost of Edinburgh, that the provost sent to the archbishop, and that the archbishop desisted from his purpose. He expressly deduces the whole history of the business, we see, as low as the month of *January*. And he thus precludes

(a) Knox, 331—332, and Stuart, ii. 76.

for ever the tale, that Calderwood presents to us concerning him, and that Calderwood dates in the month of *December* before.

“ That cruell murderer of our brethren, falsly
 “ called the Bishop of Sanct Andrews,” says this
 pretended letter of Knox’s, “ most unjustly and
 “ against all law *batb presumed to his former ty-*
 “ *ranmie*, as a *signatur*, *past* for his *restitution* to
 “ his ancient jurisdiction (as it is termed) more
 “ fully doeth proport. What end may be looked
 “ for of such beginnings, the half-blind may see,
 “ as we suppose : and yet we have heard, that a
 “ certain sum of money and victuals should be
 “ assigned be the Queen’s Majestie, for sustentation
 “ of the ministry ; but how that any such
 “ assignation, or any promise made therof, can
 “ stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman
 “ Antichrist, be just laws once banished from this
 “ realm, shall be intrusted above us, we can no-
 “ wayes understand—: for if we think not, that
 “ *this last erecting of that wicked man*, is the very
 “ setting up again of that Roman Antichrist
 “ within this realm ; we are deprived of all right
 “ judgment—. Therfor we ought to be the
 “ more vigilant and circumspect, especially seeing
 “ a parliament is proclaimed. We have sent
 “ to you the form of a supplication and articles,
 “ which we would *have* presented to the Queen’s
 “ Majestie : if it please you, we would ye should
 “ approve it by your subscriptions ; or if ye
 “ would alter it, we desire you so to do, and we
 “ shall allow quhatsoever ye shall propone not
 “ repugnant to God. If it shall be thought ex-
 “ pedient,

“pedient, the commissioners of countreys shal
 “conveen to reason upon the most weighty ma-
 “ters that now occurre; the time and place ap-
 “pointed by you, and due advertisement giv-
 “unto us; by God’s grace there shall no fau-
 “be found in us—(a).”

This forgery, which has been made for the
 forger Knox, just as we have seen others made
 for his brother-forger Buchanan, betrays itself
 the examining eye by several marks. The main
 assertion in it, I have already shown to be fal-
 in fact; and shall again show, before I close this
 dissertation. But I wish at present to seize some
 subordinate points in the forgery, to hold them
 up to the publick view, and to expose the forge-
 more plainly from them.

This letter carries no date upon it. But it
 clearly pretends to be written, in DECEMBER
 1566. “We have heard,” it says, “that a cer-
 “tain sum of money and victuals should be af-
 “signed be the Queen’s Majestie, for the susten-
 “tation of the ministry.” This was actually
 done by the Queen at Stirling, on December the
 20th 1566 (b). And only a report of it is sup-
 posed to have yet reached Edinborough, at the
 time when this letter pretends to be written. It
 is calculated, therefore, for the period of the
 general assembly, which met at Edinborough
 on December the 25th 1566, which actually
 accepted that offer from the Queen on the
 26th, and continued to meet till the 28th after-

(a) Keith, 566—567.

(b) Ibid. 562.

wards (a). But it betrays its *posterious* fabrication, by two special deviations of chronology in it.

“ WE have sent you,” says this *spurious* Knox, “ the form of a supplication” &c. “ if it please you, WE would ye should approve it by your “ subscriptions; or, if ye would alter it, WE “ desire you so to do, and WE shall allow what- “ soever ye shall propone not repugnant to God : “ if it shall be thought expedient, that commis- “ sioners of countreys shall conveen, to reason “ upon the most weighty matters that now oc- “ curre; THE TIME AND PLACE APPOINTED BY “ you, and DUE ADVERTISEMENT given unto “ us, by God’s grace THERE SHALL NO FAULT “ BE FOUND IN US.” It is not necessary to dwell upon the palpable absurdity, of desiring a vast multitude of individuals, severally to alter the form as they pleased, to appoint a time and place for this ecclesiastical CONGRESS, and to notify the same to Knox. In a forger’s ideal common-wealth, this may be done. But, in a real republic or a real kingdom, this is more difficult, than to square the circle or to ascertain the longitude. And I go on to notice my principal object here.

All implies Knox to HAVE BEEN THEN IN SCOTLAND, and to have intended TO REMAIN IN SCOTLAND, for an *indefinite* number of weeks to come. Only so, could he have been ready to receive their alterations, and to “ allow” them,

(a) Keith, 563—570.

if *he* thought them "not repugnant to God." Only so, could he have received too their opinions, concerning a convention of commissioners; and their notifications of time and place, for holding it. And only so, could he have declared his resolution to attend the convention in person. Yet the fact is, that he had no such intention at the time, that he intended at the time to *leave* Scotland, that he actually applied to the *assembly* for *licence* to *leave* it, and that he actually *obtained* licence for leaving it. On the TWENTY-SEVENTH of December 1566, he made a request in form to the assembly, "to pass to the realme of England, "to visite his children, and to do his uther business." On the TWENTY-SEVENTH of December, the assembly "all in ane voyce grants "licence to our said brother" Knox, "according "to the *Queenis Majesties conduct*," which he had *previously* procured, "to passe to the said realme, "for purposes forspokin, and utheris his lawfull "affaires, what tyme he shall think most commodious for his journey; provyding lykwayes, "that he *returne* to this realme of Scotland, *before* "the 25 of this moneth of Junii next insewing," when another assembly was to be held. The assembly even drew up a letter, for him to carry; reminding the bishops of England, "how tender "a thing the conscience of man is," when they themselves were acting in direct opposition to their own principle, insulting the Queen for her tendernefs of conscience, and persecuting the other papists for theirs; and desiring the bishops "gentlie to handle the brethren preachers, touch -
" in **E**

"ing the habits, surpeloaths [surplices]; and
 "uther abulziements [dresses];" and declaring
 in the predominance of their folly, that because
 "surpclaiths, cornett-cap, and tippetts hes bein
 "badges of idolaters in the verie act of their ido-
 "latrie," as if shirts, shoes, and stockings had
 not been equally so, they ought to be rejected,
 and even feared, by true protestants (*a*). And
 as Knox appears from all, to have *not* intended a
 stay in Scotland, for an indefinite number of
 weeks, at this period; so does he decisively ap-
 pear *not* to have written the letter, which plainly
 implies him to have thus intended.

But there is another mint-mark of forgery, in
 the letter. It urges the people "to be the more
 "vigilant and circumspect, especially seeing a
 "*parliament is proclaimed.*" But when was a par-
 liament first proclaimed, *after* December the 20th
 1566? When was one, *after* the murder of Rizi-
 zio, March the 9th 1566? A parliament was in-
 tended to have been held on March the 12th (*b*).
 Then Mary designed "to have done some good,
 "anient restoring the auld religion (*c*). The
 people therefore might well be warned *then*,
 "to be vigilant and circumspect, especially
 "seeing a parliament is proclaimed." Nor was
 one proclaimed afterwards, till the murder of
 Darnly had been accomplished. Then Lenox
 requested one to be called, in a letter dated *Fe-*

(*a*) Keith, 564—565. This letter is also in Knox, 402—
 403; but much modernized.

(*b*) Keith, 331.

(*c*) Ibid. *ibid.*

bruary the twentieth 1566-7. And, in a letter of *the very next day*, Mary says thus to Lenox; “evin schortlie before the recept of your lettre, “we had causit proclame a parlement (*a*).” A parliament therefore had been ordered, about the TWENTIETH of February 1566-7. And this circular letter, which pretends to be written a few days after the 20th of December 1566, was apparently written for a period *before* the 12th of March in this very year, or for one *after* the 20th of February in the year following.

— III. —

So clearly is this paper convicted of forgery! But let us now proceed to another. Let us come to the general assembly itself. The register of the assembly says thus: “ordaines ane humble supplication to be made to the lords of secrete counsell, anent *the commissioun of jurisdiction*, “supponit grantit to the Bischop of Sanct Androes, to the effect that their honours stay the *same*.” Accordingly a form of supplication is entered in the register, immediately under the order. It says, as Knox has been made to say before: “that cruell murtherer of our brethren, “maist falslie stylit Archbisshop of Sanct Androes, &c. is *reponit and restorit be signatur past* “*to his former tyrantie*; for not only are his “*ancient jurisdictions* (as they are termit) of the

(a) Keith, 370.

“haill

"haill Bischoprick of Sanct Androes *grantit unto him*, but also the executioun of judgment, confirmation of testamentis, and donatioun of his benefices; as more amplie in his signatur is expressed (a)."

Here is that evident confuseness in the language of the supplication and the order, which a reality, a correspondent object existing in nature, could never have permitted. The *spectre* of Knox before has asserted, that there was "a signatur past," for the restoration of the archbishop's jurisdiction. He even cites the very words of it. By this signature, he says, the archbishop was restored "to his ancient jurisdiction, as it is termed." And he refers to it for a fuller account of the whole in these expressions; "as a signatur past—*more fully doeth proport*." Just so, the assembly's supplication speaks of "his ancient jurisdiction (*as they are term'd*);" and refers for further particulars to the signature itself, "as *more amplie in his signatur is expressed*." Yet, after all, the register of the assembly speaks in the order for the supplication, of "the commissioun of jurisdiction *supponit* grantit to the Bischop of Sanct Androes." Knox in his letter, and the assembly in their supplication, have both of them *seen* and *read* the commission; and yet this very assembly, in their very register, modestly tells us, that it was only a commission *supposed* to be granted. Vision is thus sunk into belief; and the solid mass of certainty has evaporated away, into the mists of supposition.

(a) Keith, 566—567.

We have now, however, two supplications. Knox is made to say, that he has sent “the form of a supplication;” and the assembly votes “ane humble supplicatioun to be made.” But *that* is to be subscribed by the people, and “presented to the Quene’s Majestie;” and *this* is “to be made to the lords of secreit counsell.” They are, therefore, very different from each other. We have thus three different modes of proceeding, against the pretendedly renewed jurisdiction of the archbishop, adopted by the three agents in the three forgeries respectively. One forms a supplication to the Queen, from the people at large. The second forms a supplication, from the assembly to the privy council. And the third sets the provost and his *counsellors*, upon frightening the archbishop from his commission at once. Nor have we a single trace of any of these modes of proceeding, in any history, record, or transaction, but what are comprised in their own assertions.

The archbishop comes to Edinburgh, in order to begin a new æra in the ecclesiastical annals of Scotland, to renew the abolished authority of the spiritual courts, and to renew it with great pomp and formality. He has therefore “a company of one hundred horses or more” with him. Yet the very provost of Edinburgh does not know of his intentions, till he is apprized of them by the Earl of Murray. He knows not indeed of the commission, granted for that purpose by the Queen. And Murray apprized the provost, that the archbishop was come, “in-

“tending to tak possession, *according to his gift lately obtained.*” The provost therefore interposed to prevent this grand operation ; and prevailed.

The late assembly had presented a supplication to the privy council, desiring them to *stop* the commission *already granted*, and to keep the archbishop from acting upon it. The privy council was either unwilling or unable, to stop it. Yet the provost had both the ability and the will, to do so. He accordingly sent “thrie or four of “the counsaill,” to the archbishop. Three or four common-council men, undoubtedly, make a very formidable host of Janissaries. These advanced in their gowns. These showed all their

Ten thousand mighty nothings in their face.

And these conquered, where the privy council either could not subdue, or dared not to attack ; became superiour to the archbishop ; and even rose triumphant over the Queen herself. The archbishop desisted from his purpose. The Queen receded from her intention. And the new commission was virtually resolved into waste paper. Such were the *Guildball giants* of Edinborough, in days of yore !

But when the assembly vote and draw up their supplication, to the privy council ; they know not of Knox’s circular letter to the people, and of his proposed supplication to the Queen. Had they known of either, they would necessarily have mentioned them in their own supplication. They would

would have requested the privy council, to suspend the *immediate* execution of the commission; *because* a general supplication was designed to be made to the Queen, and a strong hope was entertained, she would be induced by *this* to rescind *that* for ever. In a supplication so stated, there would have been some gleam of good-sense. But there is not a single ray of the kind, in theirs. They therefore knew not of Knox's. And they were as ignorant of his supplication, as the provost was of the Queen's commission, and of the archbishop's intention to open it.

But, what is more, the provost knows as little of Knox's supplication, as the assembly do. The assembly have voted an address to the privy council. Knox does infinitely more than this. He does, what he and the assembly together did not dare to do. He leaves the petty audacity of addressing the privy council, and desiring them to supersede a commission of the Queen's. He soars above it. He writes a circular letter to the people. He calls upon them to make a grand struggle, for their endangered religion. And he proposes an extraordinary convention of IRISH DELEGATES. Yet the provost and his common-council men ;

Sleek-headed men that sleep a-nights,

aye, and a-days too ; have never heard concerning it. They therefore wait not for the result of this bold measure, that must have agitated the whole kingdom, and kept all the nation in a most extraordinary

nary suspense of expectation. And three or of them step forward instantly; to execute business at a blow.

ut, what is still more singular, even Knox himself knows nothing of the very assembly's supplication. He mentions it not in his circular letter, he must have done if he had known of it. He must have noticed the address; and hinted at the likelihood, of obtaining an effectual suppression of it. On this principle he would have grounded the necessity, of a more vigorous application to authority. And he must necessarily have written his obvious conformity to fact, if he had known of the fact itself. It is also evident from history, that he did *not* know of the assembly's supplication. He comes down into *January*, with account of this business; and yet knows not, it was done by the assembly itself, in the *end* of *December* before. He was personally present at the assembly, on the 27th of December; *the day on which the supplication is said to have ordered and made (a)*; and yet knows nothing concerning it. He heard not the order. He saw not the supplication. And he never heard of either afterwards. In his circular letter and in his history, he knows of neither. In his history too, as we have observed before, he knows not of *his own* circular letter. And he may well therefore not know, of what the assembly voted, drew up, and passed, the very day that he was present himself at the meeting.

(a) Keith, 564.

— IV. —

Thus do the provost and his common-council, the assembly, and Knox, all appear ignorant respectively, of what each is made to say and to do. And the three great agents in this triple forgery, stand before us like so many madmen ; that have been plotting about the same object, in their several cells of darkness ; and are now come out, to tell their discordant projects to the world.

Accordingly Spotswood, who approaches the nearest of any of our later historians, to the date of the assembly's supplication, and of Knox's circular letter ; but who knows no more of the latter, than Knox does of both ; and who with that prompt credulity, with which he has believed in so many forgeries of Knox's and Buchanan's before, believes also in the reality of the revived jurisdiction, and in the authenticity of the assembly's supplication against it ; even he says thus of both : " I find not what answer it [the supplication] received, nor that the Bishop made use of " his commission (a)." He might well not find, what answer was returned to what was never presented. He might well not find any use made of a commission, that was never granted.

Dr. Robertson however says, that " the protestant clergy,—as they *despaired* of obtaining " the proper remedy from the *Queen herself*," the Doctor *not believing*, we see, in the circular

(a) Spotswood, 198.

letter sent by Knox, so arguing upon it as a *non-entity*, and drawing an inference of despair in the clergy from its *non-existence*; “—addressed a remonstrance to *the whole body* of the protestant nobility;” an address indeed, running in terms “to the nobilitie of this realme that professes the Lord Jesus with them,” but in reality, as we have seen before from the register, made only “to the lords of secreit counsell.” “What effects,” adds the Doctor, “this vehement exhortation might have produced, *we have no opportunity of judging*; the attention of the nation being quickly turned, towards events of another and more tragical nature (a).”

Dr. Stuart speaks exactly in the same strain. On the revival of the archbishop’s jurisdiction, he says, “their,” the presbyterian clergy’s, “apprehensions were extreme; and they did not hesitate to *sound them abroad*, and to *call upon the nobility* by a fervent supplication, to attend to the impending danger.” He, equally with Dr. Robertson, passes over the circular letter of Knox. He equally rejects it, as a non-entity. He equally substitutes the assembly’s supplication, in its room. And he equally makes *this* a circular letter, like *that*; and equally addresses *this* to “the nobility” of the realm in general, while in fact it is addressed only to the privy council in particular, and while *that* is addressed to “you that have professed the Lord Jesus within this realme,

(a) i. 393—394. This is exactly the same too, in edit. xith, p. 405.

"alsweil *nobilitie*, as *gentlemen*, *burgesses*, and
 " *commons* (a)." But, as he goes on with Dr.
 Robertson, "the effects of their alarm, and the
 "scheme itself of trampling upon the Reforma-
 "tion, were suppressed and forgotten, in the
 "noise and horror of that tragical scene, which
 "was soon to throw the kingdom into convul-
 "sions, and to involve the Queen in inextricable
 "misery (b)."

Spotswood led the way to both, in this hasty and un-critical mode of writing history. "The change it seems," *he* also says, "which shortly after happened in the state, did quite frustrate the same" commission (c). But Spotswood, we see, speaks only of the *commission* being suppressed by the subsequent commotions. Dr. Robertson follows him in the general observation, yet confines it all to the *remonstrance*. And then Dr. Stuart comes, and extends the observation to both. So much does history vary from itself, as it moves through different hands! But all unite, let me remark, in suppressing another fact of forgery. They have already rejected the circular letter of Knox. They now reject Knox's history of the archbishop and the provost. And two-thirds of the whole forgery are silently given up, by the very believers and users of the third. Nor do two of these writers merely give them up in silence. They deny the truth of them. Spotswood says, that the succeeding events, "it seems, — did quite frustrate" the commission; when

(a) Keith, 567. (b) i. 184. (c) Spotswood, 198.

Knox's history asserts the commission to have been frustrated before, and by the provost. And Mr. Stuart similarly tells us, that "the scheme itself of *trampling* upon the reformation," was suppressed in the subsequent convulsions of the kingdom; when the *clowen-foot* of the fiend, according to Knox's history, was drawn in during the month of January before, and from the successful interposition of that grand *exorcist*, the provost. All therefore that Knox relates in his history, concerning the archbishop's coming to Edinburgh, in order to open this very commission; concerning the Earl of Murray apprizing the provost; and concerning the provost being the cause of suppressing the commission; is from the beginning to the end of it false. And these very writers have set to their seals in conjunction, to attest the fallhood of it.

Nor is their own third of the forgery, less false than the rest. Their own account of it shows it to be false. A commission is granted. An alarm is taken. A violent remonstrance is circulated through the nation. Yet what ensues? *Nothing at all*. No trace of either the commission or the remonstrance, is found at all afterwards. The commission, we know not how, sinks in silence to the grave. And the remonstrance, we know not why, spends itself un-observed in air. Nor can we, with any share of common-sense, attribute the non-appearance of either afterwards, to the enthronement of Mary or the murder of Darnly. That a commission granted in *December*, should be so totally annihilated by an incident in *Febru-*

A a

ary,

ary, as never to be opened in the *intermediate* period; is a supposition, infinitely absurd in itself. That a remonstrance circulated in *December*, should not be heard of in its violent progress through the kingdom, during the whole of *January* and a part of *February*, merely because something more violent happened *afterwards*; is a supposition, charged (if possible) with still greater absurdity. The remonstrance and the commission, indeed, might well not be traceable in their effects, because they never existed. They never existed, any more than Knox's circular letter, or Knox's anecdote of the archbishop. They show they did not, by being equally un-traceable with them, in the incidents of the times. And they all appear merely as so many meteors, that have been kindled in the hot element of a forger's brain, and have there shot their course, invisible to the world.

At this very period truly, when the Queen is said to have revived the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and the assembly is said to have supplicated the privy council against it; the privy council, the archbishop, and the Queen, were all at *Stirling* together. They were all assembled there, for the baptizing of the young prince. There the Queen and the privy council appear *convened* together, on the 21st of December and on the 10th of January (*a*). And the assembly's supplication to the privy council, which was drawn up on the 27th of December, and was to be carried to *Stir-*

(a) Keith, 562 and 570.

ling in order to be presented to them, should in common-sense have been a supplication to the Queen herself, who was there with them. The archbishop too was at Stirling on the 17th of December, and there baptized the young prince upon that day (*a*). There he stayed with the Queen, no doubt, during all the festivity. He had assuredly attended her to Stirling, and now returned with her to Edinburgh; as he certainly attended her a few days afterward, from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and from Glasgow again to Edinburgh (*b*). He *then* attended her, as the first letter assures us, with "all the Hammiltounis (*c*);" being a Hamilton himself. With "all the Hammiltounis," therefore, he waited upon her to Stirling at first, on the 7th or 8th of December. With "all the Hammiltounis," he equally escorted her to Edinburgh afterwards, on the 14th of January. With "all the Hammiltounis," he set off again in attendance upon her for Glasgow, on the 21st. And, with "all the Hammiltounis," he also conducted her back on the 30th (*d*). Hence he is said by the *Historical* Knox, to have come "to Edinburgh in *January*, having a *company of one hundred horses or more*." He came evidently with such a train, not to open a commission, if he had had one; but to escort his Sovereign. He came with the

(*a*) Goodall, i. 320.

(*b*) Buchanan's Admonition, 3, Ruddiman, ii.; and Detection, 65, Anderson, ii.; Jebb, i. 259.

(*c*) Section xxx—ii.

(*d*) Keith, pref. vii. and rebel journal.

Queen. He went away with the Queen. ~~He~~ returned with the Queen. Nor, even if he had a commission, and even if he had come to open it, would the city in such circumstance have applied to *him* to desist. They would not even have applied, like the assembly, to the privy council in which their informer Murray sat on the 10th at Stirling (a), and with which and the Queen, no doubt, he returned to Edinburgh on the 14th. No! They would have applied, as Knox in his circular letter proposes to apply, to the very Queen; because she was equally at Edinburgh with the archbishop, and because she alone could revoke the commission, that she had granted him.

— V. —

So plainly spurious do all these accounts appear, in every light of history or of common-sense, by which we can view them. But I now hasten to the grand and fundamental point of all, the revived jurisdiction of the archbishop. This I have already shown to be absolutely false in fact. And I shall now show it again, with an addition of evidence.

When presbyterianism first fixed itself in Scotland, by those arts of fraudulence and by those deeds of violence, which so shamefully mark its earliest history there; it had only a very imperfect

(a) Keith, 570.

of establishment for years. The bishops still remained as presidents in the church. The bishops still continued as peers in parliament. This we see at a glance, on the rolls of the very last parliament, which Mary ever summoned. It met on the 14th of April 1567, and was dissolved on the 15th. Then, say the rolls of it, " Archiepif. Sancti Andreæ, Epif. Dunkeldensis, Ep. Candidæ Cafæ, Ep. Dumblanensis, Ep. Brechinensis, Ep. Orchadensis, Ep. Sodorensis, Ep. Abirdonensis," and " Ep. Rossensis," attend as the first estate of the whole *(a)*. Nor were they, we may be sure, deprived of their subordinate privileges; when they thus retained their principal honours. In fact, they equally retained their subordinate too. And they particularly held their courts, as before. Accordingly we see a very kirk-assembly of the presbyterians, in the beginning of July 1562, entering this resolution on their books; " anent the *action* of DIVORCEMENT, it was thought good to make supplication to the secret counsell, that *either* they TRANSFERRE the JUDGMENT OF DIVORCEMENT TO THE KIRK AND THEIR SESSIONS, *or* ellis," &c. *(b)* The judgment of divorces, therefore, still remained with the bishops, even in July 1562. In consequence of that, we see the assembly again on June the 26th 1563, pointing several persons " to take cognitioun of Mr. Magnus Haltra and Margaret Sinclair's *appellation*, from THE BISHOP OF ORKNAY'S

(a) Anderson, i. 113.

(b) Keith, 515.

"SENTENCE IN A CAUSE OF DIVORCE (a)." On December the 28th following, the Queen appointed commissaries, in order to accelerate the decision of causes, that went on slowly in the *spiritual courts* before. In February 1566, we see the prothonotary, secretary, and datary of the archbishop, swearing witnesses, taking depositions, and attesting them "with his seal and subscription manual, as he was accustomed to do in similar cases;" in order to ground upon them, a dispensation from Rome. In May 1567 also, we see the same court again hearing, taking down, and attesting depositions; and finally pronouncing a sentence of DIVORCE, from them. And, as Queen Mary says herself concerning this very divorce, in her authoritative instructions to her embassadour sent into France, "the mariage "with him, the former contract and band, wes "BE YE ORDOURE OF LAW, EXPRESSIT IN THE "CANONIS, RESSAVIT AND PRACTEYSIT IN "THE REALME, for lauchfull causis of CONSANGUINITIE, and utheris relevant, dissolvit;" or, as she says again in her instructions to her embassadour ordered into England, "BE YE LAWS "RESSAVIT WITHIN OURE REALME, AND OF "TIMES PRACTISIT, as is NOTOUR ANEUCH, "his former marriage was dissolvit,—for resolute "causis of CONSANGUINITIE and utheris (b)."

We thus have a regular chain of evidence, for the continuation of the spiritual courts to the last,

(a) Keith, 524.

(b) Anderson, i. 100—101, and 106—107.

and for the forgery of Knox's tale concerning the archbishop and the provost, for the forgery of Knox's circular letter, and for the forgery of the assembly's supplication. Knox himself began the work of forgery upon this subject, in order to darken over the fair fame of Mary. Some genuine son of Knox followed him in the career of knavery, inserted the order and the supplication in the register of the assembly, and so imposed upon Spotswood. Not content with both, Calderwood advanced still farther in the lists of baseness, and fabricated the circular letter for Knox; taking frequently the very words of the assembly's supplication, ranging in a higher course with them, so doubling one forgery upon another, and heightening both into the very elevation of absurdity. But not acting upon one uniform plan, and standing all at some distance from the period meant by all; they encounter, they contradict, and they overthrow each other. And they have thus left at last, one of the most singular monuments in existence, of the bold genius of Scotch presbyterianism, for the first century of its appearance in the world; of its dreadful eagerness to calumniate the highest worth, that accidentally opposed its progress; and of its horrible readiness, to call in the most accursed forgeries to its aid (a).

No. XVI.

(a) "These things," says Spotswood in the *MS.* copy of his history, concerning some praises bestowed by him upon the Queen Dowager, "I have heard my father often affirm,

A 2 4

"whose

No. XVI.

SECRETARY DAVISON'S APOLOGY.

N. B. I have *numbered* the two parts of it—
and broken each part into paragraphs.

— I. —

“ ON Wednesday the first of this pre-
“ sent,

“ whose testimony deserved credit: and have many times re-
“ ceived the like from an honourable and religious lady, who
“ had the honour to wait near her person, and often professed
“ to me, that the Queen-Regent was much wronged in John
“ Knox his story. The author, whosoever he was (for I am
“ persuaded it was none of Knox his writings), in his whole
“ discourse sheweth a bitter and hateful spite against her,
“ FORGING dishonest things WHICH WAS NEVER SO MUCH
“ AS SUSPECTED BY ANY,” &c. (Keith, App. 89, and the
two last clauses in the *printed* copy, 146—147).

“ This good prelate,” says Keith upon the passage, “ has
“ elsewhere assigned his reasons why this book could not be
“ written by John Knox.” He has assigned them in p. 267;
where his only reason is a supposed anachronism; the history
referring in one place to Fox’s Book of Martyrs, “ which
“ came not to light [till] some ten or twelve years after Mr.
“ Knox his death.” But this argument is refuted clearly by
Nicholson in his *Scottish Library*; as “ there was an edition
“ of that work in Latin at Strasburg in 1554, and another at
“ Basil in 1559, both which were long before Knox’s death;
“ tho’ the first English edition (in 1583) was indeed about
“ a dozen years after it” (190, edit. 1st). Thus, as Keith

“sent (*a*), about ten of the [clock, came one of the grooms (*b*)] of the chamber unto me, to let me understand, that her Majesty had called for [me by my lord admiral, who was in the (*b*)] privy chamber. I found his lordship there,

goes on to remark upon Spotswood, “these reasons” of his “are now, without all controversy, found to be groundless. Besides, Mr. Knox’s friends are at the utmost pains, to secure to him the right of his labours in penning this work. And it is surely a matter beyond all farther doubt” (Keith, App. 89).

“However,” continues Nicholson, “it must be confessed, that, tho’ this argument will not hold good, yet there are some other passages in it, which undeniably prove, that some *later* person than Knox has made several interpolations, which are now printed as parts of the original history. So much is unanswerably remarked by a late ingenious writer, Pref. to Fundament. Char. of Presbyt.” (p. 190). And these interpolations were made, either by Richard Bannatyne and his assistants, who were appointed by the kirk of Edinburgh to continue Knox’s history from his papers, and to carry it on from 1564, to which Knox himself had brought it down, to the time of his death in 1572 (Nicholson 191—192); or rather by David Buchanan, who published in 1644 the fifth book of the history, reaching to August 1567, and who is known to have interpolated the four books preceding (Knox, Life of the Author, xlvii—li). The forgeries before 1564, therefore, and those particularly which relate to the Queen Dowager, are Knox’s own; and those *after* 1564, and this particularly concerning the archbishop, are most probably Knox’s too, as derived from his papers.

(*a*) This shows the apology to have been written, immediately after the events. Mary was put to death on Wednesday, the 8th of February 1586-7. And this apology appears from the words here, to have been written *before the month was expired*.

(*b*) I have supplied the words within hooks, from Mackenzie’s copy (see the end of this Dissertation).

" who told me the cause of my sending for;
 " having, first, summarily discoursed unto me
 " some speech, that had past that morning betwixt
 " her Majesty and him, touching the execution
 " of the Scottish Queen; the conclusion whereof
 " was, that she would no longer defer it, and
 " therefore had commanded him to send ex-
 " pressly for me, to bring the warrant unto
 " her (a)."

" Whereupon returning to my chamber, I took
 " both that and divers other things, to be signed
 " for her service; and, returning, sent in Mrs.
 " Brooke to signify my being there, to her Ma-
 " jesty; who immediately called for me. At my
 " coming in, her Majesty first asking me, whether
 " I had been abroad that fair morning; advising
 " me to use it oftner; and reprehending me for
 " the contrary; finally demanded, what I had in
 " my hands. I answer'd, Divers warrants, and
 " other things, to be signed for her service. She
 " enquired, whether my lord admiral had not
 " sent for me, and whether I had not brought up
 " the warrant for the Queen of Scots (b). I an-
 " swer'd,

(a) This warrant appears from another and a more genera
 apology by Davison, written evidently at a period of time
 much later, and when he had forgotten some of the minute
 circumstances; to have been by him " retained—at the least
 " five or six weeks un-presented, nor once offering to carry
 " up, till she sent," &c. (Robertson, ii. 482).

(b) The other apology says, that he was "sharply reproved
 for not bringing the warrant before; " by a great peer, an
 " in her Majesty's presence" (Robertson, ii. 482). Yet th
 cannot be wholly true. The present apology shows it can

“fwer’d, Yes; and thereupon [she] calling for
 “it, I deliver’d it into her hands; after the read-
 “ing whereof, she, calling for pen and ink,
 “signed it; and, laying it from her, asked me,
 “Whether I were not heartily sorry it was done?
 “Mine answer was, That I was sorry a lady, so
 “near in blood to herself, and of her place and
 “quality, should so far forget her duty both to
 “God and her Majesty, as to give her this cause;
 “but sithens this act of her Majesty was, in all
 “men’s opinions, of that justice and necessity,
 “that she could not defer it without the manifest
 “danger of her person and state, I could not be
 “sorry to see her Majesty take this course, of re-
 “moving the cause of that danger, which threat-
 “ned the one and the other: protesting never-
 “theless, that, for my own part, I was so far

not. And Davison’s memory must have failed him here.
 It failed him thus, I apprehend. The “great peer” is the
 same, no doubt, who is called “the great counsellor” be-
 fore, that was sent to him about the warrant; and who was,
 we know from the present apology, the lord admiral. He
 had heard Elizabeth express her anger, at Davison’s not
 bringing up the warrant before; as she had actually “given
 “her commandment to me,” says Davison himself near the
 end of this present apology, “*many days before* to bring up
 “the warrant unto her.” He heard it. And he took upon
 him in consequence of this, “sharply” to “reprove” him
 “therefor.” Only he did not do so, “in her Majesty’s pre-
 “sence.” It is plain, that he did not accompany Davison to
 the Queen. Davison went from him to his own apartments,
 there took the warrant, &c. sent in Mrs. Brooke to the
 Queen, and then went in himself. And no one was present,
 it is plain, at the conversation that followed between the
 Queen and Davison.

“from

“ from thirsting after the blood of that unhappy
 “ lady, that, if there had been any other way to
 “ preserve her Majesty and the state from mis-
 “ chief, than by taking her life; I could not
 “ have wished it. But the case standing so in
 “ the opinion of all men, that either her Majesty
 “ or she must die; I must confess freely, that I
 “ preferr’d the death of the guilty before the in-
 “ nocent.

“ After this, she commanded me to carry it
 “ to the seal; and to give my lord chancellor or-
 “ ders from her, to use it as secretly as might
 “ be (a); and by the way to shew it to Mr. Se-
 “ cretary Walsingham, because she thought the
 “ grief thereof would kill him outright, for so it
 “ pleas’d her Majesty to say of him (b). This
 “ done, she call’d for the rest of the warrants and
 “ other things I had to sign; and dispatched
 “ them all, with the best disposition and willing-
 “ ness that might be; in the mean time repeat-
 “ ing unto me some reasons, why she had so long
 “ deferred the matter, as namely for her honour’s
 “ sake, that the world might see she had not been
 “ violently or maliciously drawn into it. She

(a) The other apology says, that, when Elizabeth had signed it, she commanded him “ to carry it to the seal, and, “ being sealed, *to send it immediately away unto the commissioners, according to the direction*” (Robertson, ii. 482). This is implied, in the direction for the chancellor here, and in the repeated direction to himself, to *use* it secretly.

(b) Walsingham was then *sick*, as these words imply, and as Camden asserts (Orig. i. 465, and Transf. 393). In all probability he was only *crafty-sick*, for reasons that will appear hereafter.

“ con-

“ concluded, She was never so ill advis’d, as not
“ to see and apprehend her own danger, and the
“ necessity that she had to proceed to this exe-
“ cution. And thereupon, after some other in-
“ termingled speech here and there, she told me,
“ That she would have it done as secretly as may
“ be; and, misliking that it should be executed
“ in the open court or green of the castle, ex-
“ pressly willed that it should be done in the hall:
“ which I take to be certain arguments, both of
“ her meaning it should be done, and in the form
“ prescribed in the warrant.

“ But, after I had gathered up my papers, and
“ was ready to depart, she fell into some com-
“ plaint of Sir Amias Poulet and others, that
“ might have eas’d her of this burthen; wishing
“ me yet to deal with Mr. Secretary, and that we
“ would jointly write unto Sir Amias and Sir
“ Drue Drury, to sound their dispositions; aim-
“ ing still at this, that it might be so done, as the
“ blame might be removed from herself. And
“ tho’ I had always before refused to meddle
“ therein, upon sundry her Majesty’s former mo-
“ tions, as a thing I utterly condemned; yet
“ was I content, as I told her, for her satisfying,
“ to let Sir Amias understand, what she expected
“ at his hands: albeit I did before assure myself,
“ it should be so much labour lost, knowing the
“ wisdom and integrity of the gentlemen, who, I
“ thought, would not do an unlawful act for any
“ respect in the world. But finding her Majesty
“ desirous to have him founded in this behalf, I
“ departed from her Majesty, with promise to
“ signify

“ signify so much unto Mr. Secretary, and that
 “ we would both acquaint Sir Amias with this her
 “ pleasure. And here repeating unto me again,
 “ that she would have the matter closely han-
 “ dled, because of her danger; I promis’d to
 “ use it as secretly as I could, and so for that
 “ time departed (a).

“ That afternoon I repaired to my lord chan-
 “ cellor, where I procur’d the warrant to be
 “ seal’d; having in my way visited Mr. Secre-
 “ tary, and agreed with him about the form of
 “ the letter, that should be written for her Ma-
 “ jesty’s satisfying to Sir Amias Poulet and Mr.

(a) The other apology says, that Elizabeth “ in conclu-
 “ sion absolutely forbid him, to trouble her any further, or
 “ let her hear any more hereof, till all was done” (Robert-
 son, ii. 482). But this cannot possibly be true, as a letter
 was to be written to Paulet about the assassination, and an an-
 swer to be returned, before the warrant was to be sent away.

Camden’s account of all this business is much more wrong.
 He makes Elizabeth send a letter *under her own hand* to Davison,
 commanding a warrant *under the great seal to be drawn
 up by him*; when the warrant was drawn up by Cecil, given
 by him “ with her Majesty’s own privy” unto Davison
 (Robertson, ii. 481), kept by Davison five or six weeks; and
 then called for by Elizabeth as above. This, says Camden,
 was to lie in readiness, if any danger should chance to break
 out. But the reason is as ridiculous, as the fact is false.
 And she, adds Camden, commanded him to acquaint no one
 with it; when she actually told him to acquaint Walsing-
 ham, and when she necessarily told him to acquaint the
 chancellor. See Orig. i. 455, and Transf. 382. Camden has
 here taken up for truths, the wretched falsehoods which Eli-
 zabeth obtruded afterwards upon the world, as a subterfuge
 for her guilt.

“ Drury,

“ Drury, which at my return from my lord
 “ chancellor was dispatch’d (a). The next morn-
 “ ing

(a) The letter is thus entitled, “ A copy of a letter from Sir
 “ F. Walsingham and Secretary Davison to Sir Amias Poulet,”
 and runs thus.

“ After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately
 “ uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a
 “ lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh
 “ for at your hands; in that you have not in all this time (of
 “ yourselves without other provocation) found out some way
 “ to shorten the [life of*] that Queen; considering the great
 “ peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall
 “ live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her,
 “ she noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own
 “ particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion,
 “ and the publick good and prosperity of your country, that
 “ reason and policy commandeth; especially, having so good
 “ a warrant and ground, for the satisfaction of your consci-
 “ ences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and
 “ reputation towards the world, as the oath of the association,
 “ which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; espe-
 “ cially, the matter, wherewith she standeth charged, being
 “ clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore
 “ she taketh it most unkindly, that men, professing that love
 “ towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for
 “ lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon
 “ her; knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood,
 “ especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her
 “ in blood as the said Queen is. These respects, we find, do
 “ greatly trouble her Majesty, who, we assure you, hath sun-
 “ dry times protested, that, if the regard of the danger of her
 “ good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her
 “ than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to
 “ the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to
 “ acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her

* I have supplied the words in hooks. The *manuscript* is without them.
 And, as the editor says, “ ‘tis thus in the MS.”

“ Majesty;

"ing I received a letter from Cranmer my ser-
 "vant, whom I left at court, signifying unto me
 "her Majesty's pleasure, that I should forbear to
 "go to my lord chancellor till I had spoken with
 "her; and, within an hour after, came William
 "Killigrew with the like message from her;
 "whom I return'd with this answer, that I would
 "be at the court as soon as himself, and give her
 "Majesty an account of what I had done. At
 "my coming to her, she ask'd me, Whether I
 "had been with my lord chancellor? I told her,
 "Yes. She demanded, what needed that haste?
 "I answered, That I had done no more than
 "she commanded, and thought it no matter to be
 "dally'd withal. But saith she, methinks the
 "best and safest way for me, is to have it other-
 "ways handled; particularizing a form, that, as
 "she pretended, liked her better; naming unto
 "me some that were of that opinion, whose judg-

"Majesty; referring the same to your good judgment. And
 "so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your most assured friends,

"At London, 1 Feb^r.

"Fra. Walsingham.

"1586."

"William Davison."

"To the Right Honourable

"Sir Amias Poulet, Kt. one

"of her Majesty's most Ho-

"nourable Privy Council."

"This letter, which ought to be preserved, as an eternal mo-
 "nument of the insidious savageness of the writer, Walsing-
 "ham, and of the suggester, Elizabeth, was "found amongst
 "Sir Amias Poulet's writings," thus indorsed by Sir Amias,
 "this letter was received at Fotheringay the 2d of February
 "at 5 in the afternoon."

"ment

ment she recommended. I answered, that I took the honourable and just way to be the best and safest way, if she meant to have it done at all. Whereto her Majesty, replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner (a).

“ Within a day or two after, her Majesty, being in the privy chamber, call’d me unto her; and smiling told me, how she had been troubled that night with me, upon a dream she had that the Scots Queen was executed; pretending to have been so troubled with the news, as, if she had had a sword, she could have run me through. But this being delivered in a pleasant and smiling manner, I answered her Majesty, that it was good for me I was not near her, so long as that humour lasted. But, taking hold of her speech, I ask’d her Majesty in great earnest, what it meant, and whether, having proceeded thus far, she had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Her answer, con-

(a) How a man, who could talk in this strain of probity to Elizabeth, should ever have become one of her secretaries of state, must excite surprise in us. Camden’s account is very remarkable. “ Thus was Davison,” he says a few weeks beyond this period, “ a man of good ingenuity, but not well skilled in court-arts, brought upon the court-stage of purpose (as most men thought) to act for a time *this* part in the tragedy; and soon after, the part being acted, and his stage-attire laid aside, as if he had failed in the last act, he was thrust down from the stage, and, not without the pity of many, shut up a long time in prison.” He was also fined a thousand pounds, sentenced to prison during Elizabeth’s absence, and “ never recovered” her favour, “ though she sometimes relieved his wants” (Orig. i. 465, Transf. 392).

"firmed with a sollemn oath, in some vehemenc
 "was Yes: but she thought it might receive
 "better form; because, saith she, this casteth th
 "whole burthen upon myself. Whereunto
 "replied, that the form prescribed by her war
 "rant was what the law required, and the onl
 "form that was to be kept in honour and justice
 "She answered, that there were wiser men than
 "myself of another opinion. I told her, that I
 "could not answer for other men; but this I was
 "sure of, that I never heard any man give a
 "sound reason, to prove it honourable or safe for
 "her Majesty, to take any other course than that,
 "which standeth with law and justice. And so,
 "without further replication or speech, her Ma-
 "jesty rose up, and left me (a)."

"The

(a) The day, here meant by the words "within a day or
 "two after," was the *very next day, Thursday*. In the other
 apology Davison says, that he kept the warrant after it was
 sealed, which was sealed in the afternoon of *Wednesday*,
 "all that night, and *the greatest part of the next day*, in his
 "hands; *brought it back with him to the court*, acquainted her
 "Majesty *withal*, and, finding her Majesty *resolved* to pro-
 "ceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet
 "desirous to carry the matter so, as she might *throw the bur-*
 "*then from himself*, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands
 "thereof: and hereupon went over unto the lord treasurer's
 "chamber, together with Mr. Vice-chamberlain Hatton, and
 "in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said
 "lord treasurer, of whom he had before received it; who from
 "thenceforth kept it, till himself and the rest of the council
 "sent it away" (Robertson, ii. 482). These two passages
 serve each to correct the other. He did not deliver up the
 warrant to Cecil, *the day after it was signed*, that is, *Thursday*,
 in the *afternoon*, and *just* after he had been with Elizabeth.

On

"The same afternoon, as I take it, she ask'd me, whether I had heard from Sir Amias Poulet? I told her, No. But within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him, in answer to those were written to him by Mr. Secretary and myself (*a*).

"The

Thursday he was with her in the *morning*. Nor was it day or two after" *Thursday*, when he saw Elizabeth for *third* time concerning the warrant and the great seal. It is only *the very day* after it, *Friday*. This is plain from the nature of the conversation which passed, and from the ending away of the warrant after it. In *that* conversation, as *this*, she declared herself *resolved* to proceed with putting Mary to death, and yet wanted to *throw the burden off from herself*. This fixes both to be the same. After the conversation, she gave the warrant to the lord treasurer, and *that very evening* the lord treasurer sent it away; Beale, the bearer of it, reaching the Earl of Kent's near Fotheringay-castle *the very next day*, that is, *Saturday*, with the warrant, &c. in his pocket (Robertson, ii. 475).

(*a*) It was *certainly* "the same afternoon," the afternoon of *Friday*. The letter from the two secretaries, and an additional letter from Davison alone, are both dated on the *first* of February, which was *Wednesday*. They were received at Fotheringay-castle, as we see in a note above, "the *second* of February at five in the afternoon." Paulet's answer, as we all soon see, was dated "the *second* of February" too, and at six in the afternoon." And it would reach London, in the afternoon of the *third*, that is, of *Friday*. The letter arrived accordingly on *Friday*. Davison showed it to Walsingham of course, immediately. It came directed to Walsingham, though it was received by Davison. He also communicated the contents of it, to Cecil and others of the council. He was then resolved by them, to wait no longer, but send off the warrant by Beale that evening. This appears from the recent apology, and a fact mentioned before. On the *Tuesday* following, says Davison, "knowing what order had been

“ The next morning having access to her Ma-
 “ jesty upon some other occasion, I told her that
 “ I had letters from Mr. Poulet ; which her Ma-
 “ jesty desiring to see, took and read (*a*). But
 “ finding

“ taken by my lords, in sending the commission to the earls,
 “ I answered” &c. Afterwards he says also, “ as for my
 “ proceeding therein with the rest of my lords,” &c. And the
 warrant, as I have shewed before, reached one of the earls on
Saturday evening.

(*a*) This letter also has been luckily preserved, being also
 “ found amongst Sir Amias Poulet’s writings,” and thus en-
 titled and copied by him.

“ A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham of the 2d
 “ of February 1586, at six in the afternoon, to the [in] answer
 “ of a letter from the said Sir Francis of the first of February
 “ 1586, received at Fotheringhay the second day of the said
 “ month at five in the afternoon.”

“ S I R,

“ Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this pre-
 “ sent day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according
 “ to your direction, to return my answer with all possible
 “ speed ; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and
 “ bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have lived
 “ to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direc-
 “ tion from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which
 “ God and the law forbiddeth. My goods, livings, and life
 “ are at her Majesty’s disposition ; and I am ready to lose
 “ them this next morrow, if it shall so please her ; acknow-
 “ ledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious
 “ favour, and do not desire to enjoy them, but with her
 “ Highness’s good liking. But God forbid, that I should
 “ make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great
 “ a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law and
 “ warrant ; trusting that her Majesty of her accustomed cle-
 “ mency, and the rather by your good mediation, will take
 “ this my dutiful answer in good part, as proceeding from
 “ one

“ finding thereby, that he was grieved with the
 “ motion made unto him, offering his life and all
 “ he had to be disposed by his [her] Majesty,
 “ but absolutely refusing to be an instrument, in
 “ any such action as was not warranted in honour
 “ and justice; her Majesty, falling into some
 “ terms of offence, complaining of the daintiness,
 “ and, as she term’d it, perjury, of him and others,
 “ who, contrary to their oath of association, did
 “ cast the burthen upon herself; she rose up,
 “ and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery;
 “ whether I followed her. And there [she] re-
 “ newed her former speech; blaming the nice-
 “ ness of those precise fellows, who in words
 “ would do great things for her safety, but in
 “ deed perform nothing: and concluded, she
 “ would have it done without them. And here,
 “ entring into particularities, [she] named unto
 “ me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she
 “ assured me, would with some others undertake

“ one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject
 “ living, in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his
 “ Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the
 “ Almighty.

“ Your most assured poor friend,

“ A. Poulet.”

“ From Fotheringhay

“ 2d of February,

“ 1586.”

“ Your letters, coming in the plural number, seem to be
 “ meant as well to Sir Drue Drury, as to myself; and yet
 “ because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed
 “ unto him, he forbearth to make any particular answer,
 “ but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.”

“ D. Drury.”

" it (*a*). Which gave me occasion to shew unto
 " her Majesty, how dishonourable in my poor
 " opinion any such course would be, and how far
 " off she would be from shunning the blame and
 " stain thereof, which she so much fought to
 " avoid: and here, falling particularly into the
 " case of Sir Amias Poulet and Sir Drue Drury,
 " told her; that it was a marvellous extremity,
 " she would have exposed these gentlemen unto.
 " For if, in a tender care for her surety, they
 " should have done that she desired; she must
 " either allow their act, or dis-allow it. If
 " she allowed it, she took the matter upon her-
 " self, with her infinite dishonour, If she disal-
 " low'd it, she overthrew these faithful gentle-
 " men, who, she knew, did truly and faithfully
 " love her; and not only themselves, but their
 " estate and posterity. And therefore [I] thought
 " this, a dangerous and dishonourable course,
 " both for herself and them. And so, after some
 " particular speech of Mr. Secretary and others,
 " touching some matters past heretofore (*b*);
 " her

(*a*) This Wingfield is perhaps the Robert or John Wingfield, that assisted at Mary's execution (Robertson, ii. 478).

(*b*) What this means, is too plain from *the very obscurity* of it. But it may be made *more distinctly visible*, by some observations. In 1586 Mary says at her trial, a few months only before this period, as I have noted in the body of the work; that "*Walsingham*,—as she heard, had practised both against *her life* and her son's" (Camden, Orig. i. 424, Transf. 355). In May 1587 an Englishman was seized in Scotland, as I have equally noted before, "who was sent into Scotland on purpose, to *poison* the King's Majesty, or to *take him away*"
 " by

"her Majesty, calling to understand, whether it
 "were time to go to the closet, broke off our dis-
 "course (a).

"At

"by some indirect means; it was said at the time, that he was
 "induced thereto, by the *Queen of England*, and her council" (Moyse, 128). But let me add some things concerning *Leicester*. Fuller says of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, that he died in 1570 "at supper, eating of fallad, not without suspicion of *poison*; the rather because *happning in the house of* "one no mean artist in that faculty, R. Earl of *Leicester*" (Baronetage, ii. 358, edit. 1741). Camden also, a still better authority, says of *Leicester*, that he was suspected of *poisoning* Walter Earl of Essex in 1576; and that "the suspicion "was increased by *Leicester's* presently putting away Douglas [Baroness Dowager of] Sheffield with money and fair promises (whether his paramour or his wife, I cannot say), "on whom he had begotten a son, and now more openly making love to Lettice, Essex his widow, to whom afterwards "he joyned himself in—matrimony" (Orig. i. 264, Transf. 217—218). Leicester too, says Aubrey in his Berkshire, i. 149, "prescribed to Sir Richard Varney, a promoter to this "design" of murdering his first wife, "at his coming hither," to Cumner, "that he should first attempt to *poison* her." A like attempt appears to have been equally made upon his second wife, Lady Sheffield; "for it is certain," says Dugdale in his Warwickshire, p. 167, "that she had some ill positions given her, so that, with the loss of her hair and nails, "she hardly escaped death" (General Biog. Dict. 1784, DUDLEY). And Camden adds in 1586, when Elizabeth was considering the mode of putting Mary to death, that "*Leicester* thought rather by *poison*, and sent a divine privately to Walsingham, to satisfy him—it was lawfull" (Orig. i. 413, Transf. 346). Such an infernal villain was Leicester, and so worthy to be the mate of Elizabeth!

(a) That Davison should have allowed himself to talk, in this higher strain of probity to Elizabeth; is an evidence of what Camden has said of him, that he was "a man not well skilled in court-arts." Yet he was not an honest man. He

“ At my next access to her Majesty (which, I
 “ take it, was Tuesday, the day before my com-
 “ ing

had been too long one of Elizabeth's ministers, to be honest. And he actually appears *not* to have been so, from other parts of his conversation with Elizabeth, and from a couple of letters which he wrote *singly* to Paulet. In the first of them, which appears from the date as well as the subject, to have been sent along with the extraordinary letter before, for the assassination of Mary; he writes in this strain to Paulet.

“ An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison of the
 “ said first of February 1586, as followeth.”

“ I pray you, let both this and the inclosed be committed
 “ to the fire; which measure shall be likewise met [meted]
 “ to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her
 “ Majesty for her satisfaction.”

But, not content with this, he wrote a postscript to another letter, exactly in the same strain. This letter and postscript appear equally from the subject and date, to have been written immediately after the receipt of Paulet's answer, at the very moment of sending off the warrant by Beale, and before Davison had yet shewn Paulet's answer to Elizabeth.

“ A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison of the
 “ third of February 1586.”

“ I intreated you in my last letters, to burn both the letters
 “ sent unto you, for the argument's sake; which, by your
 “ answer to Mr. Secretary (which I have seen), appeareth
 “ not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you, to make
 “ hereticks both of th' one and th' other, as I mean to use
 “ yours after her Majesty hath seen it.”

“ In the end of the postscript.”

“ I pray you let me know what you have done with my
 “ letters, because they are not fit to be kept; that I may sa-
 “ tisfy her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take of-
 “ fence thereat: and, if you intreat this postscript in the
 “ same kind, you shall not err a whit.”

“ A. Poulet.”

“ D. Drury.”

Davison

“ing to court), having certain things to be
 “sign’d; her Majesty entered of herself into some
 “earnest discourse, of the danger she daily liv’d

Davison thus shows his conscious knavery, by his lively apprehensiveness. He had been long in the school of knavery, and had necessarily learnt some of its lessons. Yet he appears from the conversation in the text here, and from another before, to have not been entirely tainted in his principles by it. He was therefore *worthy* to be brought forward, by a conspiracy betwixt Elizabeth and her more flagitious ministers, in order to be sacrificed for those remains of honesty about him, which were such a disgrace to the school and its preceptress; to be sacrificed by *them*, for his incongruous acting with them; to be sacrificed by *her*, for his yet un-subdued relics of honour in his conversation with her; and to become the grand scape-goat of both, on whose head were laid all the enormities of both, and by whom they were all supposed to be carried away for ever.

Let me only observe in addition to this, that Davison appears to have actually burned *their* letter; and, had they burned his and Walsingham’s, and not kept a copy of their own, we had lost some valuable monuments of the time; that Davison, but not Walsingham, had the honest timorousness of conscience, to wish to suppress the letter concerning the recommended assassination of Mary; and that he was *very* anxious to suppress it. The much more knavish Walsingham never thought of this. The lamp of conscience was no longer burning in the bosom of the latter. It was in that of the former. And yet it was burning so tremulously there, that he wished to have the guilty letter destroyed, when to destroy could not hide it from the eye of God. He reflected not in the hurry of his apprehensions, that, could he bury it under the foundations of the earth, yet the day was coming, in which those very foundations would be overturned, and, then peculiarly, would

murderous deeds arise,

Though all the earth o’erwhelm’d them, to men’s eyes.

“in,

“ in, and how it was more than time this matter
 “ were dispatched ; swearing a great oath, that it
 “ was a shame for them all it was not already
 “ done ; and therefore spake unto me, to have
 “ a letter written for the dispatch thereof, because
 “ the longer it was deferr’d, the more her danger
 “ encreas’d. Whereto, knowing what order had
 “ been taken by my lords, in sending the com-
 “ mission to the earls ; I answer’d, that there was
 “ no necessity, as I thought, of such a letter,
 “ the warrant being so general and sufficient as
 “ it was. Her Majesty reply’d little else, but
 “ that she thought Mr. Poulet would look for
 “ it (a).

— II. —

(a) From these words above, “ at my next access to her
 “ Majesty, which, I take it, was Tuesday, the day before
 “ *my coming to court,*” and from these words soon afterwards,
 “ until the hour of *my departure from court,*” as uniting to
 mark the concluding period of all his story ; it appears, that
 Elizabeth rated him very harshly on *Wednesday*, the day so
 strongly marked, as the well-known “ day of his coming to
 “ court” and “ of his departure from it ;” on account of the
 warrant, ordered away the Friday evening before, for the ex-
 ecution of Mary. On this very Wednesday was she executed.
 Elizabeth had now been apprized, that the warrant was sent
 away. It was high time to apprise her ; though her signing
 the warrant was a sufficient justification in itself, for sending
 it away. And, in her usual tergiversation of conduct, she
 chose to forget all her conversation of *the very day before* ; her
 “ earnest discourse of the danger she daily liv’d in,” her de-
 claration, that “ it was more than time this matter were dis-
 “ patched ;” her “ swearing a great oath, that it was a shame
 “ for them all it was not already done ;” and her “ speak-
 “ ing unto Davison” himself, “ to have a letter written to
 “ Mr. Poulet for the dispatch thereof, because, the longer it
 “ wa

— II. —

“ And this, as near as I can possibly remember,
 “ is a faithful and true report of the whole sub-
 “ stance, of that hath past betwixt her Majesty
 “ and

“ was deferr’d, the more her danger encreas’d.” She now censured him for *not* “ deferring” the execution longer, for *overt*ing this “ increasing danger,” for *removing* the “ shame” from “ them all,” and for doing *that* which “ it was more “ than time” had *then* been done *already*. But she so censured him not, till she was sure the execution had already taken place, or would irrevocably take place in a few hours afterward.

Yet, what shows still more the artifice of the whole, she censured him *exclusively*. She here does so at first, we see. She did so afterwards, and to the last. Indeed she also expressed her anger intermediately against the council in general. She issued a commission, “ for their calling to the “ Star-chamber for the same.” But she afterwards issued another, for their “ private appearance—, instead thereof, “ before the lord chancellor Bromley” (Robertson, ii. 482—483). Then, by another touch of mildness to *them*, *just after* the trial of Davison was *over*; “ Wray, lord privy seal, signified” in court, “ That albeit the Queen had been offended (and that not without just cause) with her council, “ and had thereupon left them to examination; yet *now* she “ *forgave them*, and withall *acknowledged*, that *they* had been “ *very carefull and diligent* in their actions and counsels, for “ the *preservation of religion* and the *commonwealth*, and for “ *preventing of all dangers*” (Camden, Orig. i. 464—465, Transf. 392). And she centered all her resentment on the single head of Davison.

But what is Davison pretended to have done? He had given up the warrant, now *signed* and *scaled*, to that very lord treasurer Cecil, who drew it up originally, and who had given it

" and me, from the day of signing the warrant,
 " and commandment given to me to carry it to
 " the

it to him *for her signing*; when he had been sent at the signing, by the Queen's own express orders, to carry it to the lord chancellor *for his sealing*. He had not given it up, however, till *an answer had been received from Paulet*; and till Elizabeth, *posteriorly* as well as previously to her order for a letter to Paulet, had charged him, and had charged the chancellor by him, to *use* it with all possible secrecy.

Yet Camden, imposed upon by the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, says that Davison "acquainted the council with the warrant" and the whole matter, and easily *persuaded* them,—that the "Queen had commanded it should be executed." Davison however gave not up the warrant to the council, and called not a council at all. He gave the warrant to Cecil. Cecil called the council. And Cecil produced the warrant to them. But, as Camden adds, "she at that very time told" Davison, that she would take another course with the Queen "of Scots" (Orig. i. 445, Transf. 382). Cecil accordingly made a confession, which, in the loose and arbitrary modes of proceeding usual with Elizabeth, was produced in court against Davison, instead of a personal testimony from Cecil; and which averred, that Cecil "doubting whether the "Queen had absolutely resolved to have execution done, "Davison confidently affirmed it" (Camden, Orig. i. 462, Transf. 390). And as Davison was arraigned for sending away the warrant, when Elizabeth "never intended that the "Queen of Scots—should have been put to death;" so Elizabeth, in her letter immediately afterwards, to Mary's son, called her death "this lamentable accident, which is happened contrary to my meaning and intention," and "which, since my pen trembleth to mention it, you shall fully understand by this my kinsman" (Camden, Orig. i. 461 and 460, Transf. 389 and 388). Yet, all the while, not Davison, but the council, sent the warrant away; and the council sent it, only in consequence of Cecil's resignation of it, to them or to their clerk, Beale.

All

" the seal, until the hour of my departure from
 " court. In all which I must protest unfeignedly
 " before God, that I neither remember any such
 " commandment given me by her Majesty, as is
 " pretended; neither did I ever conceive such
 " an intent or meaning in her. And that mine
 " innocency herein may the better appear, let it
 " be considered, first, what the commandment is,
 " and next, upon what consideration it was
 " grounded.

" The commandment (as I understand it) hath
 " two parts; one, that I should conceal it from
 " the rest of her Majesty's council: another, that
 " I should retain it by myself until some tumultu-
 " ous time, as a thing her Majesty meant not
 " otherwise to put in execution: both which I

All therefore makes up the boldest scene of hypocrisy, that
 was ever exhibited to the world. We peculiarly know it to
 be so, from this apology. Elizabeth meant, and always
 meant, the death of Mary. She particularly declared so,
 only the day before her execution. Nor was there any
 need of Davison's attesting to Cecil, that she meant to have
 the warrant executed. Cecil knew this sufficiently before.
 The very signing of the warrant, also, proved this decisively.
 Nor was Davison false in attesting, *if he did attest*, her mean-
 ing from his own knowledge. Elizabeth had declared over
 and over again, that she meant to have it *used*. She had re-
 peatedly ordered it to *be used* with secrecy. She had even
 gone on for that reason, to forbid the open court, and to
 point out the hall, for the place of execution. And though
 she had intimated to Davison, that " she would take another
 " course with the Queen of Scots;" yet we, who know that
 course to have been *assassination*, can only execrate her the
 more for it.

" must

“ must in all duty and humbleness, under her
 “ most gracious favour (*a*), absolutely deny (*b*). ”

“ And, for the first, I trust her Majesty, in her
 “ princely and honourable nature, will not de-
 “ ny (*a*), but that she first sent for me by my

(*a*) These passages show clearly, that this apology was intended to be seen by Elizabeth. Such an intention adds much to its credit. And it naturally suggests to us, that Davison has rather *softened* than exaggerated some particulars in his narrative.

(*b*) Yet Camden makes Davison on his trial to allow, “ That, when the Queen blamed him for making such haste, “ to get the warrant under the great seal [to have the warrant passed under the great seal], she gave some signification, but not express command, that he should keep it in his “ own hands ” (Orig. i. 462, Transf. 390). This acknowledgment, if at all true in itself, can refer only to the conversation on *Thursday* morning, and to the *hint of assassination by others*, then given. But Davison could not explain the hint to the court. This we see strikingly exemplified, in one part of his trial. Then “ Egerton, the Queen’s solicitor,” says Camden, “ began to press Davison with his own confession,” one different from this apology, and equally from that in Dr. Robertson’s Appendix (ii. 480) ; “ reading a piece “ thereof. But Davison prayed him to read the whole, and “ not parcels picked out here and there : but *he had rather*, “ he said, *it should not be read at all* ; because *there were contained in it some secrets, not fit to be divulged abroad* ” (Orig. i. 462, Transf. 390). And, while Elizabeth presumed to tell the boldest lies, and was believed in all that she said, *which was the whole evidence that could be brought against Davison* ; he durst not speak the truth, in his own vindication. She thus took advantage equally, of his timorous delicacy, of her own confidence in falsehoods, and of the mean ductility of the judges, to ruin him entirely. He had refused to concur with her, in her plot of assassination. He had presumed to remonstrate with her, against it. He had preached up honour and conscience to her. And she was resolved to chastise the monitor and the man.

“ lord

' lord admiral, to bring the warrant unto her ;
 ' which proveth that his lordship was acquainted
 ' with her purpose : and next, that she gave ex-
 ' press word, both to carry it forthwith to the
 ' seal, with a message to my lord chancellor,
 ' who consequently must be acquainted with all ;
 ' and also, by the way, to impart it to Mr. Se-
 ' cretary. So 'as, these three being made privy
 ' unto it by her good liking, and myself, as I
 ' say, not restrained to the contrary, by any such
 ' commandment as is pretended ; what reason
 ' had I to conceal it from my lord treasurer, to
 ' whom my lord admiral had first imparted it, or
 ' from my Lord of Leiceſter, to whom her Ma-
 ' jeſty is [familiar, and had (a)] ſignify'd as
 ' much, as likewise afterwards to Mr. Vice-
 ' chamberlain [Hatton (b)] ; as they are ac-
 ' quainted with the reſt of the whole proceeding,
 ' and as far intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf or
 ' any of the others (c) ? Unleſs her Maſteſty
 " had

(a) I have filled up this blank.

(b) I have filled up this alſo.

(c) This ſhows the whole pretence againſt Daviſon, of his having communicated the ſecret of ſealing the warrant, as if ſuch a ſecret *ſhould* be kept ; to be only an after-thought, and a mere cover for accusing Daviſon. *She herſelf* had told Hatton, had told Leiceſter, had told the lord admiral. She had actually ſent the laſt with an order, for Daviſon and the warrant to come to her, and the warrant expreſſly for her ſealing. He had received no command to keep his meſſage a ſecret. And he had told the lord treaſurer Cecil. Cecil, herefore, the very man that we have detected in ſuch kna-eries before, muſt have known of Elizabeth's meſſage, and
 of

" had a meaning, that Mr. Secretary and
 " should have dealt alone, in the sending of it
 " the earls : which for my own part I confess
 " never liked, knowing her Majesty's purpose,
 " often uttered to myself, to remove as much
 " the burden as she might, from her own shoulders
 " upon others ; which I knew mine own unfit to
 " sustain.

" Now seeing the end of signing and sealing
 " this warrant, in all reasonable probability and
 " judgment, was to go forward withal ; that the
 " delay thereof did infinitely encrease her Ma-
 " jesty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole
 " estate ; seeing it was imparted to some by her
 " Majesty's own order, and no cause or possibility,
 " being sealed, to keep it from the rest, as much
 " interested in the cause as myself ; and finally,
 " seeing I could neither, as I take it, in law nor
 " in the duty of a good subject, conceal it from
 " them, the cause importing so greatly her Ma-

of Davison's coming, *before* Davison gave him any assurance
 of the Queen's resolution. And as Elizabeth had told the
 lord admiral, and the lord admiral had told Davison from
 her, that she had spoken with "sharpness" against Davison,
 for not bringing up the warrant before, and that she had de-
 clared "she would no longer defer" the execution (see the
 beginning of this apology) ; so the lord admiral must neces-
 sarily have imparted this to Cecil. Yet Cecil appeared as a
 witness against Davison, by his written confession at least ;
 as if Davison had been the first and the only one who assured
 him, of Elizabeth's resolution to have the warrant executed.
 He was, no doubt, in the secrets of his congenial mistress ;
 and said or did, whatever she wished him to do or say. He
 seems indeed to have been the principal tool of that wretched
 Queen.

" jesty's

esty's life as it did, and the disposition both of the time and state of things, at home and abroad, being such as it was: I trust it shall sufficiently appear, that I was both in reason, duty, and necessity forced thereunto; unless I would have wilfully endanger'd myself, whose offence, if ought in the mean time had happen'd amiss to her Majesty, must have been, to my own censure, worthy of a thousand leaths (*a*).

And, as for my proceeding therein with the rest of my lords; after it was resolved, that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majesty any further withal, considering she had done all that the law required at her hands (*b*); and that she had both to myself and others signify'd at other times, her indis-

a) This argument, though tinged a little with that for the danger of Elizabeth, which was merely chimerical in the extravagance here hinted at, carries a great force in it.

b) This points out to us a new circumstance, in the conduct of this business. On Davison's showing the answer from Cecil, and giving the warrant to Cecil, upon Friday afternoon; it was resolved by the council, he being present, "it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majesty any further withal." And it is this resolution of the council, which Davison afterwards confounded in his memory, and falsely ascribed to Elizabeth herself; when he says so boldly in his other apology, as I have shown before, that on Wednesday she "in conclusion absolutely forbade him, to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof, if it was done; *she for her part having, as she said, performed all that in law or reason could be required of her*" (Roxon, ii. 482). The close of both peculiarly shows both the same.

" position to be acquainted with the particular
 " circumstances, of time, place, &c. (a); and
 " that to detain the warrant in expectation of
 " any further directions from herself, was both
 " needless and dangerous, considering the hourly
 " hazard her Majesty liv'd in; and finally, that
 " my lords, knowing her Majesty's unwillingness
 " to bear all the burthen alone, were content
 " most resolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to
 " ease her as much as they might (b): with
 " what reason and justice should I have hindered
 " the course of justice, tending so greatly to her
 " Majesty's safety, and preservation of the whole
 " realm?

" And for the other part, of keeping it by me
 " to such end as is before alleged, I trust the
 " world does not hold me so undutiful to her Ma-
 " jesty, or ill-advised for my particular; as to take
 " such a charge upon me, to the evident peril of
 " her Majesty's life, subversion of the whole estate,
 " and my own utter overthrow. Neither is there
 " cause to think (I speak it in all reverence, and

(a) This also tells us a new circumstance. Elizabeth had
 " signified" to " Davison and others" at " other" times be-
 fore, her desire *not* to be acquainted with the "place" &c. of
 the execution. Yet she had altered her desire in this respect,
 when on Wednesday, the first of February, she could forbid
 the green, and point out the hall, as the scene of execution.

(b) This shows the lords to have been all well acquainted,
 with Elizabeth's desire for throwing the load of murder off
 from her own shoulders, by substituting assassination for exe-
 cution; and artfully to have given it another turn, in order
 to bring the execution forwards.

“ under

“ under her Majesty’s most gracious favour) (*a*),
 “ that her Majesty having proceeded so far as she
 “ had done to the trial of that lady’s fact, found
 “ her guilty by a most honourable jury of her
 “ nobility, assembled her parliament only for that
 “ purpose, graciously heard their petitions; and
 “ dismissed them with so great hope; published
 “ afterwards the proclamation for her dishabil-
 “ ment, rejected the suits both of the French and
 “ Scottish kings for her life, and returned their
 “ ambassadors hopeless; confirmed that impres-
 “ sion by her letters to both princes (some of
 “ which it pleased her to communicate with my-
 “ self); protested many hundred times her ne-
 “ cessity, and resolution, to go through with-
 “ all (*b*) (albeit, for sundry good respects, she
 “ had so long deferr’d it); having given her
 “ commandment to me many days before, to
 “ bring the warrant to her (*c*), and then volun-
 “ tarily sent for it by my lord admiral; signing it
 “ as soon as I brought it, with her express com-
 “ mandment given me, to carry it to the seal,
 “ and to have it secretly handled; and, finally,
 “ her particular direction, while she was signing
 “ other things at the same time, to have the ex-

(*a*) This unites with two passages before, to show the apology was intended for the eye of Elizabeth.

(*b*) This, as to the “ resolution” vouched “ many hundred times,” is quite a new circumstance.

(*c*) This is also a new circumstance. And I have accordingly noticed it and the preceding, as such, in the body of the work, i. 3. 6.

“ ecution done in the hall, misliking that it should
 “ be on the green or open court ; with a number
 “ of other, foregoing and following, circum-
 “ stances ; may sufficiently testify her Majesty’s dis-
 “ position to have it proceeded in, albeit she had
 “ to myself and others declared her unwillingness,
 “ to be made acquainted with the time and other
 “ circumstances, having done all that the law re-
 “ quired of her, or that in honour was fit and ex-
 “ pedient for her (a).”

No. XVII.

(a) Let me here, at the end of the apology, remark finally concerning Davison, That, though he was not an honest man, yet he was so nearly one, as to be a very prodigy for the ministry of Elizabeth. He refused, it appears, to sign that very bond of association, which was signed by all the nation, and which even the despairing Mary offered, on her liberty being granted, to sign herself. Yet *he* refused, though Leicester pushed on the association, and though Elizabeth urged him to sign it. Among the pleas which he advances for himself in his other apology, he particularly states “ his former *absolute* “ refusal to sign the bond of association, being *earnestly* pressed “ thereunto by her Majesty’s self” (Robertson, ii. 483). This indeed is a very strong evidence, of a manly virtuousness in him. But he did other things, in the same spirit of virtue. He declined to act as a commissioner, on the examination of Babington and his accomplices, for their conspiracy in favour of Mary ; and took a journey to Bath, in order to save himself from acting (Robertson, ii. 483). He was a means too of preventing the commissioners, who were sent to try Mary at Fotheringay-castle, from pronouncing sentence upon her immediately after the trial ; and of obliging them to return first to London, and report their proceedings to Elizabeth (Robertson, ii. 483). We have already seen, that he kept the warrant for the execution of Mary, five or six weeks in his hands ; without offering to present it to Elizabeth for her signing. We have equally seen, that he actually neglected

No. XVII.

“ THE BOND OF 9 EARLES, 9 BUSHOPPS, 18
 “ LORDS, AND OTHERS FOR DEFENCE OF THE
 “ QUEENE OF SCOTTS.”

“ VIII. MAII 1568.”

“ TILL all and fundrie quhome it effaires, to
 “ quhais knowledge thir present lettres fall cum :
 “ We ye prellatts, erls, lords, barons, gentilmen,
 “ and

to obey a personal command of Elizabeth's, for bringing the warrant to her; and that he thus neglected for “ many days,” even till the Queen fired at his conduct, and sent him a peremptory order to bring it. Even then, and even when Paulet's answer had been received, and all delay was now at an end for ever; he would not be concerned in sending away the warrant himself, but returned it into the hands from which he had received it, and left Cecil and the council to send it. And, as in all the time “ *before* her trial, he neither “ is nor can be charged, to have had any hand at all in the “ cause of the said Queen, or done any thing whatsoever concerning the same, directly or indirectly;” so, “ *after* the “ return thence of the—commissioners, it is well known to all “ her council, that *he never was at any deliberation or meeting “ whatsoever, in parliament or council, concerning the cause “ of the said Queen, till the sending down of her Majesty's “ warrant unto the commissioners, by the lords and others of “ her council*” (Robertson, ii. 481).

These deeds of honesty, no doubt, had successively marked him out for vengeance, to the rest of the ministry and to the Queen. He was therefore selected by Cecil, “ with her Majesty's own privacy,” to be the Secretary with whom the

“ and burrowis after specifcit, haveing considerit
 “ that it has pleasit God Almytie, of his infinite
 “ power,

warrant should be lodged for signing (Robertson, ii. 481). He was thus exposed to a train of decisive trials. It would be seen, whether he *offered* to present the warrant to Elizabeth for her signature. Should he *not* offer, a command might be given him by Elizabeth, to bring it up. Should he hesitate to obey *this*, a sharp rebuke and a peremptory order might be sent him. If he was refractory in all these points, then the wrath of Elizabeth would burst out upon him, and sweep him away from her presence for ever. If he complied in any, his farther compliance might be tried, in ordering him to the great seal with the warrant, and in directing him to use the warrant, when sealed, with secrecy. Should he be found pliable in *this* trial, the grand scheme of assassination, the favourite wish of Elizabeth's heart, which had repeatedly been talked over by her other ministers before Elizabeth and him, which they all united to approve, though none of them offered to undertake, and which had been so talked over and so approved of, merely to put Davison upon undertaking it; might finally be urged upon Davison in private, by Elizabeth herself. Should he bend to this urgency, and engage in the work of assassination; Elizabeth, *as soon as ever the work was done*, would have risen upon him with an *affected* passion, and made his life the forfeit of his compliance. And should he *not* bend, all his present and all his former refractoriness would be remembered at once against him, and unite to draw down the rage of Elizabeth in a storm of *real* resentment upon him. Either way, the man was sure to be ruined. He complied, though only in part. - He brought up the warrant, at the *second* order. He carried it to the great seal. He even united with Walsingham, to mention Elizabeth's proposal of assassination to Paulet. But he would go no farther. He actually protested to Elizabeth herself against the proposal, before he mentioned it to Paulet. He protested to her against every scheme of assassination. And he was therefore ruined at last by Elizabeth, in a most impudent stretch of falsehood,

for

“ power, to put to libertie our Sovereigne Ladie
 “ y^e Quenis Magestie furth of the hands of her
 “ Hienes

for *doing what he did not do*, and in truth and reality for *not doing what he was wanted to do*.

Thus fell Davison, a memorable evidence of the cunning, the perfidiousness, and the barbarity, of Elizabeth and her Cecil! But he was fully revenged of them both, in his fall. He wrote the present apology, which serves so greatly to expose the characters of both. It is very convincing in itself, is even drawn up with the air and address of a fine writer, and is peculiarly valuable to the critical investigators of Elizabeth's conduct. It differs very usefully from that in Dr. Robertson's Appendix, in being written within the very month of all the main transactions recorded in it, and being therefore very full, circumstantial, and accurate; while that was written many years afterward, is only general and short, and is often in-accurate. It was not however, as Camden says, a “private” apology sent to “Walsingham” (Orig. i. 465, Transf. 392). It was evidently calculated, as I have shown before, for the inspection of Elizabeth herself. And, as it would naturally be sent to his brother-secretary for her inspection; so was it a bold challenge to her for the truth and exactness of all his averments, and would serve only to increase the load already descending to crush him. The other was writter, not only when the little particulars had faded off from the mind, when memory had confounded some circumstances that were distinct in themselves, and a regular narrative, if it could have been given, was no longer of consequence; but, what is very surprizing, when Davison had lost all copy, and even all minutes, of this very apology. It was drawn up too, when he was no longer afraid of showing his forbearance in the cause of Mary, and indeed had reason for displaying it all at large. He therefore goes back much farther in the second apology, than in the first; to the return of Mary's judges from Fotheringay, to the moment of her trial, to the examination of Babington, &c. and to the times preceding all. In this whole period he shows us his

“ Hienes disobedient and unnaturall subjects,
 “ quha hes prefumit and praisit yemselfs to hold
 “ her

secret attachment to Mary, by such a train of incidents; as seems peculiarly calculated for the eye of Mary's son, on his accession to the throne of England. Yet Elizabeth must have been alive at the writing of it; since she is spoken of as still Queen. And I therefore suppose it to be written, at the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, when all the nation began to turn their eyes towards Scotland for a successor to her; and when Davison would naturally endeavour to make that attachment to Mary, for which he had suffered so severely from Elizabeth, promote his interest with James.

The latter apology was published by Dr. Robertson, from a paper, supposed to be the original, in the Cotton Library (ii. 481). The former has been published in an anonymous history of “ the life and reign of Mary Queen of Scots, London, 1725,” where, with an agreeable surprize, I first met with it, where it is said to be taken “ from a MS. in the possession of a person of quality,” that had some *lacunæ* in it and from whence I have re-printed it here, filling up the *lacunæ*. To this were subjoined the letters, to and from Paulet and Drury, as “ found amongst Sir Amias Poulet's writings.” But the apology and letters had been previously published by Dr. Mackenzie, in his “ Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. 1708,” under the article *Freebairn*, and without the *lacunæ* of the other MS. He printed the former, he says, from the original itself, “ found amongst Sir Amias Paulet's papers “ a copy of which, transcribed from the *original*, was sent me by my worthy and learned friend Mr. Hurry of Christ's Church Oxon” (p. 334). And the latter were found equally among the same papers, and transcribed equally from them, by Mr. Hurry. These two copies, therefore are plainly transcripts of the same original; *that* having *lacunæ* in it, because the writer was not able to read the MS. and *this* having none, as written by a more skilful reader. Yet the particulars of this apology are little known to the world at present. I met not with it, till I had published

“ her maist noble person in preson, yis lang tyme
 “ past, for yair awin prehemenance and particu-
 “ larities, menufand and boistand from tyme to
 “ tyme to take her Magesteis life maist unjustlie
 “ from her, expres agains all lovable lawe of God
 “ and man; for ye quhilk his greit benefitt gran-
 “ tid to us her true subjects in her deliverance
 “ afoirsaid, we render to himall thanks and hearty
 “ praise; and seing alsue that it is the bundin due-
 “ tie of all true subgeicts with their bodies, lands,
 “ and guddis to serve and obey there native So-
 “ veraigne, in the quhilk place (a) undoubtly
 “ Almighty God has vevin (b) her Hienes abuse
 “ us to raigne, quhilk we maist earnestly prays his
 “ Godheid may lange continewe, to his glory,
 “ and alswo our vardlie (c) comforte: We there-
 “ fore, and every one of us, promisis and oblige
 “ us in the name of the eternall God, faithfully
 “ and truly upon our sawtie (d) and honours in
 “ the world, That we sall serve and obey

my Vindication. I knew of it in general, but I could not
 tell where to find it. I often looked at the apology in Dr.
 Robertson, yet found not in it what I wanted and expected.
 Nor had I such an idea of the present, as could induce me to be
 very solicitous in procuring it. But I was greatly struck,
 the moment I perused it. And I soon saw the expediency, of
 using it in the narrative part of my work; and of republish-
 ing it with notes in my Appendix; for the fuller elucidation
 of the whole history.

(a) Keith, 475—477, from Crawford's copy in the advocate's library, reads *cais*.

(b) Keith, *gevin*.

(c) Keith, *wardlie*.

(d) Keith, *lawtie*. *Lawtie* also occurs hereafter, and shows that this should be the same.

“ truly

“ truly our said Sovereigne Lady, our naturall
 “ princes, as her Hienes faifull (*a*) lieges and
 “ subjectis, agains all her enemyes and others her
 “ Gracs difobedient and unnaturall subjects, with
 “ our bodies, lands, and guds, frends, servands,
 “ assistans, and partakers, to the setting forwart
 “ of her Hienes auctorite, honour, commonveill
 “ of our native realme and liegs thereof, to the
 “ uttermaist of our power unto our lieves end :
 “ And alswe because we se the great difobedience
 “ presently pretended agains her Grace, and her
 “ trew and obedient subgects ; we therefore in
 “ maner foresaid bynds and oblis us and every
 “ one of us, truly and faithfully to take one trew
 “ and unfould (*b*) plane parte with otharis, in
 “ defence of ourselfs, bodeis, guddes, lands,
 “ rowmes, possessions, men, tennentis, servands,
 “ frends, and assistans, and in persute of them that
 “ beis funden difobedient to our said Sovereigne
 “ Lady and hir auctorite : And to that effect,
 “ that na distance not gruge fall remane nor
 “ vix (*c*) amangis us, our frends and servands,
 “ for any action ne caus criminale or civile by-
 “ past ; we also be thir presentis referris all sic
 “ actionnis and caufs, yat presently is or fall hap-
 “ pon heerafter to be amangis us, to ye ordour,
 “ dres, and comandement of our said Sovereigne
 “ Ladie, or the lordis of her Hienes counsell, or

(*a*) Keith, *faithfull*.

(*b*) Keith, *anfald*.

(*c*) “Nor vix” omitted in Keith. They were not understood, I suppose. They mean to *live*, I apprehend, and came from the Latin *vixerint*.

“ any

“ any thre or fowr of thaime, that her Hienes
 “ pleases comaund to accept the decifion thereof
 “ upon them; and however they difcerne yintill,
 “ we obliffe us faithfully to ftand and abide thaire-
 “ at, and fall on na ways purfewe any actions
 “ agains otheris without her Hienes licenfe, unto
 “ the tyme that her Majefty hold parliament, and
 “ be fully eftablifhit in her quenely honour and
 “ obedience: Obliffant ilk ane of us to otharis
 “ but fraude or guile, upon our lawties, honours,
 “ and fidelities, and never to have faith nor cre-
 “ dit, but to be reputit and haldin as opin and
 “ manifft traytors, gif we cum in contrare the
 “ tenour of the premisses in any fort. In witnes
 “ of the quhilk, we and every one of us has sub-
 “ fcrivit thir presents with our hand at Hamyl-
 “ ton, the viiith. day of May in the yerr of God
 “ M D threfcore and oucht yeeris &c. Sic sub-
 “ fcribitur (a).

Archibald Earle of Ar- Jo^a Archb^r of St. An-
gile (b). drofs.

George Earle of Huntley. Jo. Bp. of Dunkeld.

Hew Earle of Eglingtoun. Jo. Bp. of Rofs.

(a) The words “ sic fubfcribitur” are omitted in Keith.

(b) “ The Scots titles and names,” fays Mr. Crawford,
 “ being not known to Sir Robert Cotton’s tranfcriber, he has
 “ certainly miftaken fome of them: however, as near as pof-
 “ fible, we have copied after him, altering only thofe which
 “ fell within the compafs of our own knowledge” (Keith,
 477). Moft of thefe fupposed miftakes, are only the modes
 of writing names, then prevailing perfonally or generally.
 And I have publifhed the names as they are.

David

396 ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

David Earle of Crawford.	Alexander B. of Gallo-
Earle of Caffillis.	way.
Earle of Rothons	Alex. Bp. of Aberdene.
[Roths].	Rob ^t Bp. of Brechon.
Earle of Mutoife	John Bp. of the Iles.
[Montrofe].	James B. of Argile.
Earle of Sudderland.	Jo. B. of Murray.
Earle of Arroll Counsta-	
ble.	

Lordis.

Fleminge.	Abbott St Colmes Infche.
Levington.	Abbot Lindoris.
Seton.	Glenluf [Glenlus].
Robert Lord Boyd.	Haliwod.
Somerveillis.	Abbot New Abbay.
Hereis.	Dundraynen.
Rofs.	Abbot Salfide.
Maxwell.	Abbot Coufragell.
Ogilby.	Abbot Infchafray.
Olafant.	Abbot Kelfo (a).
W ^m Lord Bortheweik.	Prior Plufkati.
Zancher.	Prior Lahtenn.
W ^m Lord Hay of Yefter.	
Drumond.	Barronnis.
Elphinstoun.	Lard Lochinwar.
Lord Glaw [Glawd]	Bafs.
Hamylton.	Wachton.
Sinclare.	Roflinge.
Cairliewe [Cairliel].	Chriftorphin.

(a) Keith omits the repetition of "abbot."

Johnston.

	Johnston.
	Weymes.
	Bulweguie (<i>b</i>).
	Torry.
	Dalhousfy.
	Fairnherfity.
	Sr of Tewdaill.
ngton.	James Stewart of Car-
wood.	donald.
urne.	Lard of Kneland.
ton.	Lard of Camnethen.
lair.	Lard of Lachop.
	Barthanothan.
ey.	Gawstunn.
manon.	Romanes.
ty (<i>a</i>).	Craunstoun, K ^t .
allen.	Newton of the Ilk.
letar.	Lard Bandeneth.
bowgall.	Lard of Belstains.
heid.	Quhirfurd (<i>c</i>).
e.	Sir Andro Car, K ^t .
lon.	Srref of Lithges.
of Rogallen.	Gairtlie.
alzer.	Silverton, K ^t .
burn.	Haninge.
d of the Ilk.	Rikerton.

Keith, *Lamington, Calderwood, Lanton, Sauchy.*

Keith, *Bakwery.*

Keith, *Lard of Kneland, Cambuskenneth, Lauchop, Bar-*
an, Romano, Bandenoth, Belstams.

Robert

Robert Boyd of Bad-	Arkinles.
deners (<i>a</i>).	Dalzell.
Ieriswood.	Semenance.
James Johneston of Tor-	Lekprauik.
rey.	Corhoufs.
Robert Johneston of	Robert Lawfon of Hun-
Lochmaben.	by.
John Creythun of Rihill.	Efilmont.
Seref of Ayr.	Macum Tofche.
Sir James Hadilton, K ^t .	Geicht.
Sref of Cliddeſdaile.	Creich, K ^t .
Rob ^t Maifter of Simple.	Abergeloy.
Tho. M ^r of Boyd.	Quhy ^t lawe (<i>d</i>).
Lord Bombie (<i>b</i>).	
Skirlinge, K ^t .	
Lard Boyn.	
Lard of Boghall.	
Lard of Innervike.	
Lard of Stonhaus.	
Lard of Dunrod.	
Craighall.	
Annefbun.	
Kilburny (<i>c</i>).	
Lard Cokpule.	

(*a*) Keith, Bamff, Hadde, Rowallan, Drumallier, Whiteford of that ilk, Badennis.

(*b*) Keith, Ierviswood, Creichton, Hamilton, and Laird of Bombie.

(*c*) Keith, Skirlings, Laird of Boyn, Bogball, Innervike, Stonhouse, Dunrod, Annefburn.

(*d*) Keith, Sir Andrew Ker, K^t. Sheriff of Linlithgow, Haining, Ardkinlas, Humby, Macintosh, Abergeldy.

Neil

Neil Mungumery, K^t.
 Patrick Congilton of the Ilk.
 Pook.
 Ladieland.
 Lard Smeton.
 Preston, K^t.
 Caldwell, K^t.
 Mr of Kneland (a).

A CONCLUDING LETTER OF MARY'S TO
 ELIZABETH.

“LA Roïne,” says Blackwood concerning Mary, at the reported seizure of her son by Lord Gowry, “ayant eu le vent de la captivité de son fils, *tomba malade de sorte, qu'elle en pensa mourir*, comme les medecins d'Angleterre rap-
 “portèrent à leur maistresse; laquelle ne deman-
 “doit pas mieux, ayant desia le fils en sa puis-
 “sance, ou, quoy que soit, entre les mains de
 “gens à sa devotion: dont la pauvre mere ayant
 “l'esprit fort agité, *apres avoir adressé ses prieres*
 “à Dieu, meit la main à la plume; pensant ob-
 “tenir grace et fleschir le cœur de sa cousine, par
 “des discours que j'ay mis icy, &c.”

(b) “Madame,

“Sur ce qui est venu à ma cognoissance, des

(a): Keith, *Laird of Cockpool, Pollock, Ladyland, Smeton.*

(b) Camden has given us this letter, as he says himself,
 “*ut ex ipso autographo in paucis contraham*,” Orig. i. 332.

“dernieres

“ dernières conspirations executées en **Ecosse**
 “ contre mon pauvre enfant, ayant toute occa-
 “ sion d’en craindre la conséquence, à l’exemple
 “ de moy-mesme; il faut que j’employe si peu de
 “ vie et de force qui me reste, pour, devant ma
 “ mort, vous descharger plainement mon cœur
 “ de mes justes et lamentables plaintes; des-
 “ quelles je desire, que cette lettre vous serve,
 “ tant que vous vivrez apres moy, d’un perpetuel
 “ tesmoignage et graveure en vostre conscience;
 “ tant à ma descharge pour la posterité, qu’à la
 “ honte et confusion de tous ceux, qui, sous vos-
 “ tre adveu, m’ont si cruellement et indigne-
 “ ment traictee jusques icy, et mencee à l’extre-
 “ mité où je suis (*a*). Mais dautant que leurs
 “ desseins, pratiques, actions, et procedures;
 “ pour detestables qu’elles puissent avoir esté, ont
 “ tousiours prevalu en vostre endroit contre mes
 “ tres-justes remonstrances et sinceres deportem-
 “ ens; et que la force, que vous avez en main;
 “ vous a tousiours donné la raison entre les hom-
 “ mes; j’auray recours à Dieu vivant, nostre seul
 “ juge, qui nous a egalelement et immediatement
 “ sous luy establies, au gouvernement de son
 “ peuple.”

“ The Queen, having received intimation of
 “ her son’s captivity, *fell so sick that she thought she*
 “ *should die*, as the English physicians reported she
 “ would to their mistress; who wanted nothing
 “ better, having already the son in her power, or,
 “ which was the same, in the hands of people de-
 “ voted to her; with which the poor mother being
 “ greatly

“greatly agitated in her mind, *after she had addressed her prayers to God*, puts her hand to the pen; thinking to obtain favour from, and to soften the heart of, her cousin, by this address which I have subjoined here &c.

“Madam,

“Upon that which has come to my knowledge, of the last conspiracies executed in Scotland against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it, from the example of myself; I must employ *the very small remainder of my life and strength, before my death*, to discharge my heart to you fully of my just and melancholy complaints; of which I desire that this letter may serve you, as long as you live after me, for a perpetual testimony and engraving upon your conscience; as much for my discharge to posterity, as to the shame and confusion of all those, who, under your approbation, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am (*a*). But as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been,

(*a*) This strongly marks the propriety of *publishing* the present letter. It appears here to have been intended by Mary, for an appeal to the judgment of posterity, as well as to the conscience of Elizabeth. To *this* it called in vain. But with *that*, I doubt not, it has had and will have a very powerful influence.—Camden has the first clause thus, “*cum certò acceperim*,” and another thus, “*easdem in tuâ (si fieri possit) conscientiâ insculpere* ;” and omits all concerning her expected death.

D d

“have

“ have always prevailed with you against my
 “ very just remonstrances and sincere deport-
 “ ment; and as the power, which you have in
 “ your hands, has always been a reason for you
 “ among mankind; I will have recourse to the
 “ living God, our only judge, who has establish-
 “ ed us equally and immediately under him, for
 “ the government of his people.”

“ Je l'invoqueray à l'extrémité de ceste mienne
 “ tres-urgente affliction, pour retribuer à vous et
 “ à moy (comme il fera à son dernier jugement)
 “ la part de nos merites et demerites l'une envers
 “ l'autre. Et souvenez vous, Madame, qu'à luy
 “ nous ne sçaurions rien desguiser par les fars et
 “ polices du monde; ores que mes ennemis, sous
 “ vous, puissent un temps couvrir aux hommes,
 “ paravanture à vous, leurs subtiles inventions.

“ En son nom, et comme devant luy seant
 “ entre vous et moy, je vous ramenteuray; que
 “ par les agents, espies, et messagers secrets, en-
 “ voyez sous vostre nom en Escosse, durant que
 “ j'y estois, mes subjets ont esté corrompus, et sus-
 “ citez à se rebeller contre moy, à attenter contre
 “ ma personne, et, en un mot, à dire, faire, entre-
 “ prendre, et executer ce que, durant mes trou-
 “ bles, est advenu audit pays (a). Dont je ne
 “ veux

(a) “ Elle entend Thomas Randol, ambassadeur ordinaire
 “ d'Elisabeth en Escosse, qui, sous ombre de son office, y a
 “ fait dix mille trahisons à la Roynie d'Escosse, corrompant
 “ ses sujets par or et argent, pour les inciter à rebellion;
 “ comme il a esté verifié par le procez à luy fait.” The note
 of

" veux à present spécifier autre vérification, que
 " celle que j'en tiray par la confession d'un, qui
 " depuis a esté des plus avancez de bon service,
 " et des témoins à luy confrontez (a). Auquel
 " si j'eusse deslors fait justice, il n'eust depuis,
 " par ses anciennes intelligences, renouvelé les
 " mesmes pratiques contre mon fils; et n'eust
 " moyenné a tous mes traistres et rebelles subjets,
 " refugiez vers vous, l'ayde et support qu'ils
 " en ont eu, mesmes depuis ma detention par
 " deça; sans lequel support, je pense que lesdits
 " traistres n'eussent deslors prevalu, ne depuis si
 " longuement subsisté, comme ils ont fait.

" Durant ma prison de Lochlevin, feu Trog-
 " marton me conseilla de vostre part, de signer
 " ceste demission, qu'il m'advertissoit me devoir
 " estre presentee; m'assurant, qu'elle ne pouvoit
 " estre valable. Et depuis il n'y a eu lieu en la
 " Christienté, où elle ait esté tenuë pour telle, ne
 " maintenue, que pardeça; jusques à avoir assisté
 " par force ouverte les auteurs d'icelle. En

of Blackwood, the publisher of the letter, and a cotemporary
 with Mary. " She means Thomas Randol [Randolph], the
 " ordinary embassadour of Elizabeth in Scotland, who, under
 " shadow of his office, committed there ten thousand treasons
 " against the Queen of Scotland, corrupting her subjects with
 " gold and silver, to incite them into rebellion; as was proved
 " by the process made against him."—One clause in the
 text shows *Elizabeth*, to have been at the bottom of that
 horrid conspiracy, the murder of Rizzio and the seizure of the
 Queen. Randolph was *then* embassadour in Scotland, and left
 the country soon afterwards (Keith, 344).

(a) Camden, "ex *Mortonii* ipsius ore."

““ votre conscience, Madame, voudriez vous re-
 ““ cognoître pareille liberté et pouvoir en vos
 ““ sujets ? Ce neantmoins, mon autorité a esté
 ““ par les miens transmise a mon fils, lors qu’il
 ““ n’estoit capable de l’exercer.””

““ I will invoke him to the end of this my very
 ““ pressing affliction, that he will return to you
 ““ and to me (as he will do in his last judgment)
 ““ the share of our merits and demerits one to-
 ““ wards the other. And remember, Madam,
 ““ that to him we shall not be able to disguise any
 ““ thing, by the paint and policy of the world ;
 ““ though mine enemies, under you, have been
 ““ able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions
 ““ to men, perhaps to you.

““ In his name, and as before him sitting be-
 ““ tween you and me, I will remind you ; that by
 ““ the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent
 ““ in your name into Scotland, while I was there,
 ““ my subjects were corrupted, and encouraged
 ““ to rebel against me, *to make attempts upon my*
 ““ *person*, and, in one word, to speak, do, enter-
 ““ prize, and execute that, which has come to
 ““ the said country during my troubles. Of
 ““ which I will not at present specify other proof,
 ““ than that which I have gained of it by the
 ““ confession of one, who was afterwards amongst
 ““ those that were most advanced for this good
 ““ service, and of the witnesses confronted with
 ““ him. To whom if I had since done justice,
 ““ he had not afterwards, *by his antient intelli-*
 ““ *gences*, renewed the same practices against my
 ““ son ;

“ son ; and had not procured for all my traitours and rebellious subjects, who took refuge with you, that aid and support which they have had, even since my detention *on this side* ; without which support, I think, the said traitours could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards have stood out so long, as they have done.

“ During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throgmorton] counselled me on your behalf, to sign that demission which he advertised me would be presented to me ; assuring me, that it could not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in Christendom, where it was held for valid, or maintained, except *on this side* ; [where it was maintained] even to having assisted with open force the authors of it. In your conscience, Madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty and power in your subjects ? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been by my subjects transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.”

“ Et depuis que je l’ay voulu legitiment assurer en icelle, estant en aage de s’en aider pour son bien propre, elle luy est soudainement ravie, et attribuee à deux ou trois traistres ; qui luy en ayant desia osté l’effect, luy en osteront, comme à moy, et le nom et le tiltre, s’il leur contredit en façon que ce soit, et paravanture la vie, si Dieu ne pourvoit à sa preservation.

“ Sortie que je fus de Lochlevin, presse à don-
 “ ner bataille à mes rebelles ; je vous renvoyay
 “ par un gentil-homme exprès une bague de
 “ diamant, qu’autrefois j’avois reçue de vous
 “ en token, et avec assurance d’estre par vous
 “ secourue contre mes rebelles ; et même que me
 “ retirant vers vous, vous viendriez jusque sur
 “ la frontiere m’assister ; ce que par divers mes-
 “ sagers m’avoit esté confirmé (a). ”

“ And since I was willing to assure it lawfully to
 “ him, he being of age to be assisted to his own
 “ advantage, It is suddenly ravished from him,
 “ and assigned over to two or three traitours ;
 “ who having taken from him the effectiveness
 “ of it, will take from him, as they have from
 “ me, both the name and the title of it, if he
 “ contradicts them in the manner he may, and
 “ perhaps his life, if God does not provide for
 “ his preservation.

“ When I was escaped from Lochlevin, ready
 “ to give battle to my rebels ; I remitted to you
 “ by a gentleman express a diamond jewel, which
 “ I had formerly received as a token from you,
 “ and with assurance to be succoured by you
 “ against my rebels ; and even that, on my retir-
 “ ing towards you, you would come to the very
 “ frontiers in order to assist me ; which had been
 “ confirmed to me by divers messengers (a). ”

“ Ceste

(a) Elizabeth appears from this, to have *early* formed the design of drawing Mary into England, under pretence of assisting her, and in order to seize, insult, and imprison her.

“ Ceste promesse venant, et reiterée, de vostre
 “ bouche (ores que par vos ministres je me fusse
 “ trouuee souvent abusée) me fit prendre telle
 “ fiance en l’effet icelle; que, la route de mon
 “ camp survenue, je vins droict pour me jetter
 “ entre vos bras, si j’en eusse peu approcher.
 “ Mais deliberant de vous aller trouver, me voila
 “ à my-chemin arrestee, environnee de gardes,
 “ renfermée dans des places fortes, et en fin re-
 “ duite, toute honte passée, en la captivité où je
 “ meurs aujourd’huy, apres mille morts que j’y
 “ ay j’a souffertes (a).

“ Je scay, que vous m’allegueriez ce qui s’est
 “ passé entre le feu Duc Nortfolk et moy. Je
 “ maintiens, qu’il n’y avoit rien a vostre preju-
 “ dice, ne contre le bien public de ce royaume;

This scheme she carried on, being all the while in league with Murray, and intending to serve his and her purposes by it; in a train of such hypocritical professions of friendship, as must shock even a profligate child of the world to think of. She sent Mary a diamond jewel, as a solemn token of her avowed friendship, and as an express testimony of her promised assistance. She even assured Mary, that on hearing she was obliged to retire before her rebels towards England, she would come to the very frontiers of England, to meet and receive her. This she repeatedly confirmed afterwards, by messengers to her. And, after all, how did she behave? This familiar toad at the ear of the innocent and unsuspecting Eve, injecting its poison into her brain, and tempting her to her ruin, then started up at once in its own natural shape, and appeared a very devil by her side.

(a) Camden: “Ad te *tanquam ad anchoram sacram* in adversis confugere statui,—si *tam* facilis aditus mihi patuisset, “*ac contra me rebellantibus semper patuit;*” and “*ipsa morte graviora.*”

“ et que le traité fut approuvé par l’avis et signatures (a) des premiers qui estoient lors de
 “ vostre conseil, avec assurance de le vous faire
 “ trouver bon.”

“ This promise coming, and repeatedly, from
 “ your mouth (though I had found myself often
 “ abused by your ministers) made me place such
 “ affiance on the effectiveness of it; that, when my
 “ army was routed, I came directly to throw myself
 “ into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But while I was planning to set
 “ out and find you, there was I arrested on my
 “ way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong
 “ places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside,
 “ to the captivity in which I remain to this day,
 “ *after a thousand deaths which I have already suffered from it.*

“ I know, that you will alledge to me what
 “ passed between the late Duke Nortfolk [of
 “ Norfolk] and me. I maintain, that there was
 “ nothing in this to your prejudice, or against
 “ the publick good of this realm; and that the
 “ treaty was sanctioned with the advice and signatures (a) of the first persons who were then
 “ of your council, under the assurance of making
 “ it appear good to you.”

“ Comment tels personnages eussent ils entrepris,
 “ de vous faire consentir à ce qu’on vous ostast la
 “ vie, l’honneur, et la couronne; comme vous

(a) Camden: “ subscriptionibus, quæ proferri possunt.”

“ VOUS

“ vous en demonstrez perſuadee, à tous ambaffa-
 “ deurs et autres qui vous parlent de moy ?

“ Cependant mes rebelles s’appercevents, que
 “ leur courſe precipitee les emportoit plus outre
 “ qu’ils n’avoient pourpenſé, et la verité eſtant
 “ apparüe des impoſtures, qu’on ſemoit de moy
 “ par la conference, à laquelle je me ſoubmis en
 “ pleine aſſemblée de vos deputez et des miens,
 “ avec les autres de party contraire en ce pays,
 “ pour m’en eſclaircir publiquement ; voila les
 “ principaux, pour eſtre venus à reſiſſance, par
 “ vos forces aſſiegez au chateau d’Edimbourg, et
 “ un des premiers d’entr’eux empoisonné (a), et
 “ l’autre tres-cruellement pendu ; apres que par
 “ deux fois je leur eus fait mettre les armes bas,
 “ à voſtre requeſte, en eſperance d’accord, où
 “ Dieu ſçait ſi mes ennemis tendoient.”

“ How could ſuch perſonages have undertaken
 “ the enterprize, of making you conſent to a
 “ point, which ſhould deprive you of life, of ho-
 “ nour, and your crown ; as you have ſhown
 “ yourſelf perſuaded it would have done, to all
 “ the embaffadours and others who ſpeak to you
 “ concerning me ?

“ In the mean time my rebels perceiving, that
 “ their headlong courſe was carrying them much
 “ farther

(a) “ Ce fut le ſecrétaire Lidinton, qui fut empoisonné
 “ de peur qu’il decouvriſt la mort du Roy, et toutes leurs
 “ trahiſons : le Baron Grange, et ſon frere, furent pendus.”

“ This was the ſecretary Lethington, who was poiſoned
 “ for

“ farther than they had thought before, and the
 “ truth being evidenced concerning the calum-
 “ nies, that had been propagated of me at the
 “ conference, to which I submitted in full assem-
 “ bly of your deputies and mine, with others of
 “ the contrary party in that country, in order to
 “ clear myself publickly of them ; there were the
 “ principals, for having come to repentance, be-
 “ sieged by your forces in the castle of Edim-
 “ bourg, and one of the first among them poison-
 “ ed, and the other most cruelly hanged ; after I
 “ had two times made them lay down their arms,
 “ at your request, in hopes of an agreement,
 “ which God knows whether my enemies aimed
 “ at.”

“ J’ay voulu par un long temps experimenter,
 “ si la patience pourroit amender la rigueur et
 “ mauvais traitement, qu’on commença specia-
 “ lement depuis dix ans à me faire souffrir. Et
 “ m’accommodant exactement à l’ordre qui m’es-
 “ toit prescrit, pour ma captivité en ceste maison ;
 “ tant pour le regard du nombre et qualité des
 “ serviteurs que je retins, licentiant les autres ;
 “ que pour ma diette, et exercice ordinaire pour
 “ ma santé ; j’ay vescu jusques à present aussi

“ for fear he should discover the death of the King, and all
 “ their treasons : the Baron Grange, and his brother, were
 “ hanged.”

Camden : “ *serâ pœnitentiâ* ” and “ *pleniùs perspicerent è
 “ colloquio,* ” &c.

“ quiettement

““ quietly and peacefully, qu’un beaucoup
 ““ moindre que moy, et plus obligé que pour tel
 ““ traitement je ne vous estois, eust peu faire;
 ““ jusqu’à me priver, pour vous oster tout ombre
 ““ de soupçon et deffiance, de requerir à avoir
 ““ aucune intelligence de mon fils et mon pays,
 ““ ce que par nul droit ne raison ne me pouvoit
 ““ estre dénié, et principalement de mon enfant;
 ““ lequel, au lieu de ce, on travailloit par toute
 ““ voye de persuader contre moy, afin de nous
 ““ affoiblir par nostre division.””

““ I have been for a long time trying, whether
 ““ patience could soften the rigour and ill treat-
 ““ ment, which they have begun for these ten
 ““ years peculiarly to make me suffer. And ac-
 ““ commodating myself exactly to the order pre-
 ““ scribed me, for my captivity in this house; as
 ““ well in regard to the number and quality of the
 ““ attendants which I retain, dismissing the others;
 ““ as for my diet, and ordinary exercise for my
 ““ health; I am living even at present as quietly
 ““ and peaceably, as one much inferiour to myself,
 ““ and more obliged than with such treatment I
 ““ was to you, had been able to do; even to de-
 ““ prive myself, in order to take away all shadow
 ““ of suspicion and diffidence from you, of requir-
 ““ ing to have some intelligence with my son and
 ““ my country, which is what by no right or rea-
 ““ son could be denied me, and principally with
 ““ my child; whom, instead of this, they en-
 ““ deavoured by every way to persuade against
 ““ me,

“ me, in order to weaken us by our divi-
 “ sion(*a*).”

“ Il me fut permis, direz vous, il y a trois ans
 “ de l'envoyer visiter. Sa captivité lors à Sterlin
 “ sous la tyrannie de Morton, en fut cause; com-
 “ me sa liberté l'a depuis esté, d'un refus pour pa-
 “ reille visite. Toute ceste année passée, je suis
 “ par plusieurs fois entrée en diverses ouvertures,
 “ pour l'establissement d'une bonne amitié entre
 “ nous, et seure intelligence d'entré ces deux ro-
 “ yaumes à l'advenir. A Chatifvorts il y a envi-
 “ ron dix ans, que commissaires me furent envo-
 “ yez à cet effect. Il en a esté traité avec vous
 “ mesme, par les ambassadeurs de France et les
 “ miens. Moy-mesme j'en fis, l'hyver dernier,
 “ toutes les avantageuses ouvertures à Reale
 “ [Beale], qu'il estoit possible. Que m'en est-il
 “ revenu? Ma bonne intention mesprisée, la fin-
 “ cerité de mes deportemens negligee et calom-
 “ niee, l'estat de mes affaires traversé par delaiz,
 “ remises, et tels autres artifices. Et, pour con-
 “ clusion, pire et plus indigne traictement de jour
 “ à autre, quelque chose que je me sois efforcée
 “ de faire pour deservir le contraire, ma troy lon-
 “ gue, inutile, et dommageable patience, m'ayant

(*a*) How does this continue to lengthen out the dark and gloomy picture, of Elizabeth's conduct to Mary!

Camden: “animorum disjunctione, *si fieri posset*, divelleretur.” His clause “hòc anno jam vertente” is taken from the next paragraph.

“ amené

“ amené a ce poinct; que mes ennemis, par leur
“ accoustumance de me mal-faire, pensent au-
“ jourd’huy avoir droit de prescription de me
“ traiter, non comme prisonniere, telle que par
“ raison je ne puis estre, mais comme quelque
“ esclave, dont la vie et la mort dependent de
“ leur seule tyrannie.”

“ It was permitted me, you will say, to send
“ one to visit him there about three years ago.
“ His captivity then at Sterling under the ty-
“ ranny of Morton, was the cause of it; as his
“ liberty was afterwards, of a refusal to make
“ the like visit. All this year past, I have se-
“ veral times entered into divers overtures, for
“ the establishment of a good amity between us,
“ and a sure understanding between these two
“ realms in future. To Chatworth, about ten
“ years ago, commissioners were sent me for that
“ purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with
“ yourself, by my embassadours and those of
“ France. I even myself made concerning it, the
“ last winter, all the advantageous overtures to
“ Beale, that it was possible to make. What
“ return have I had thence? My good intention
“ has been despised, the sincerity of my actions
“ has been neglected and calumniated, the state
“ of my affairs has been traversed by delays, post-
“ ponings, and other such like artifices. And,
“ in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy
“ treatment from day to day, any thing which
“ I am compelled to do in order to deserve
“ the contrary, my very long, useless, and pre-
“ judicial

“judicial patience, have reduced me so low;
 “that mine enemies, in their habits of using me
 “ill, think this day they have the right of pre-
 “scription for treating me, not as a prisoner,
 “which in reason I could not be, but as some
 “slave, whose life and whose death depend only
 “upon their tyranny (a).”

“Je ne le puis, Madame, plus longuement
 “souffrir; et faut qu'en mourant je descouvre les
 “auteurs de ma mort, où que vivant j'essaye
 “sous vostre protection à faire mourir les cru-
 “autez, calomnies, et traistres desseins de mesdits
 “ennemis, pour m'establis quelque peu plus de
 “repos pour ce qui me reste à vivre. Pour
 “vuider les occasions pretendues de tous disse-
 “rens entre nous, esclarcissez vous, s'il vous
 “plaist, de tout ce qui vous a esté raporté de mes
 “deportemens; faites revoir les depositions des
 “estrangers pris en Irlande; que celle [celles]
 “des jesuites dernièrement executez vous soient
 “representees; donnez libertez à ceux qui
 “voudront entreprendre de me charger pub-
 “liquement, et me permettez d'entrer en ma
 “defence: s'il s'y trouve du mal, que je le
 “souffre, ce sera patiemment quand j'en sçauray
 “l'occasion: si du bien, ne souffrez que j'en fois
 “plus mal traittee, avec vostre tres-grande charge
 “devant Dieu et les hommes.”

“I cannot, Madam, suffer it any longer; and

(a) What heart is there, but must feel very lively here for the injured Queen! Camden: “ante annos undecim.”

“I must

“ I must in dying discover the authors of my
 “ death, or living attempt under your protection
 “ to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and
 “ traitourous designs of my said enemies, in or-
 “ der to establish me in some little more repose
 “ for the remainder of my life. To take away
 “ the occasions pretended for all differences be-
 “ tween us, clear yourself, if you please, of all
 “ which has been reported to you concerning
 “ my actions; review the depositions of the
 “ strangers taken in Ireland; let those of the je-
 “ suits last executed be represented to you; give
 “ liberty to those who would undertake to charge
 “ me publickly, and permit me to enter upon
 “ my defence: if any evil be found in me, let
 “ me suffer it, it shall be patiently when I shall
 “ know the occasion of it: if any good, suffer
 “ me not to be worse treated for it, with
 “ your very great commission before God and
 “ man (a).”

“ Les plus vils criminels, qui sont en vos pri-
 “ sons, naiz sous vostre obeissance, sont receuz à
 “ leurs justifications; et leur sont tousjours de-
 “ clarez leurs accusateurs et leurs accusations.
 “ Pourquoi doncques le mesme ordre n’aura il
 “ lieu, envers moy Royne Souveraine, vostre plus
 “ proche parente et legitime heritiere? Je pense,
 “ que ceste derniere qualité en a esté jusques icy

(a) With what a bold air, does innocence here invite and
 challenge an inquiry into its own actions! Camden: “ pro-
 “ ferantur *Hispanorum*, qui in *Hiberniâ* nuper capti, in me
 “ testimonia.”

“ la principale cause, à l’endroit de mes ennemis;
 “ et de toutes leurs calomnies, pour, en nous te-
 “ nant en division, faire glisser entre deux leurs
 “ injustes pretentions. Mais, hélas ! ils ont
 “ maintenant peu de raison et moins de besoin,
 “ de me tourmenter davantage pour ce regard.
 “ Car je vous proteste sur mon honneur, que je
 “ n’attens aujourd’huy royaume, que celui de
 “ mon Dieu ; lequel je me voy préparer, pour la
 “ meilleure fin de toutes mes afflictions et ad-
 “ versitez passées (a).”

“ The vilest criminals, that are in your pri-
 “ sons, born under your obedience, are admitted
 “ to their justification ; and their accusers, and
 “ their accusations, are always declared to them.
 “ Why then shall not the same order have place,
 “ towards me a Sovereign Queen, your nearest
 “ relation and lawful heir ? I think, that this
 “ last circumstance has hitherto been, on the
 “ side of my enemies, the principal cause of it
 “ and of all their calumnies, to make their un-
 “ just pretensions slide between the two, by
 “ keeping us in division. But, alas ! they
 “ have now little reason and less need, to tor-
 “ ment me more upon this account. For I pro-
 “ test to you upon mine honour, that I look this
 “ day for no kingdom, but that of my God ;
 “ whom I see preparing me, for the better con-
 “ clusion of all my afflictions and adversities
 “ past (a).”

(a) Camden : “ *jam diu cogitâsse.*”

“ Ce

“ Ce sera à vous de descharger vostre conscience
 “ envers mon enfant, pour ce qui luy apparten-
 “ dra apres ma mort en cet endroit; et cepen-
 “ dant de ne laisser prevaloir à son prejudice, les
 “ continuelles praticques et menees secrettes, que
 “ nos ennemis en ce royaume font journellement,
 “ pour l’avancement de leurs dites pretentions;
 “ travaillant d’autre costé avec nos traistres sub-
 “ jets en Escosse, par tous les moyens qu’ils peu-
 “ vent, pour hastet sa ruine; dont je ne demande
 “ autre meilleure verification, que les charges
 “ donnees à vos derniers deputez envoyez en Es-
 “ cosse, et ce que lesdits deputez y ont seditieuse-
 “ ment pratiqué, comme je croy, à vostre desceu,
 “ mais avec bonne et suffisante sollicitation du
 “ Comte mon bon voisin à York.”

“ This will be to you [a monition] to discharge
 “ your conscience towards my child, as to what
 “ belongs to him on this point after my death;
 “ and in the mean time not to let prevail to his
 “ prejudice, the continual practices and secret
 “ conspiracies, which our enemies in this realm
 “ are making daily for the advancement of their
 “ said pretensions; labouring on the other side
 “ with our traitourous subjects in Scotland, by all
 “ the means which they can, to hasten his ruin; of
 “ which I do not demand other better verification,
 “ than the charges given to your last deputies sent
 “ into Scotland, and what the said deputies have
 “ seditiously practised there, as I believe, without
 “ your knowledge, but with good and sufficient
 E c “ sollicitation

““ solicitation of the Earl my good neighbour at
 ““ York (a).””

““ Et à ce propos, Madame, par quel droict se
 ““ peut maintenir, que, mere de mon enfant, j'allois
 ““ totalement interdite, non seulement de le sub-
 ““ venir en la necessité si urgente où il est, mais
 ““ aussi d'avoir aucune cognoissance de son estat?
 ““ Qui y peut apporter plus de soin, devoir, et sin-
 ““ cerité, que moy? A qui peut-il toucher davan-
 ““ tage? Pour le moins, si envoyant vers luy pour
 ““ pourvoir à sa preservation, ainsi que le Comte
 ““ de Cherusbery m'a fait dernièrement entendre
 ““ de vostre part, il vous eust plu recevoir en
 ““ cela mon advis; avec meilleure occasion, ce me
 ““ semble, et plus d'obligation vers moy, vous y
 ““ fussiez intervenuë. Mais considerez ce que vous
 ““ avez laissé a penser, quand oubliant si soudaine-
 ““ ment les offenses que vous pretendiez contre
 ““ mon fils, lors que je vous requerois que nous
 ““ envoyassions ensemble vers luy; vous avez des-
 ““ péché où il estoit prisonnier, non seulement sans
 ““ m'en donner advis, mais me restraignant au
 ““ mesme temps de toute liberté, afin que par
 ““ voye quelconque je n'en eusse aucunes nouvel-
 ““ les.””

““ And on this point, Madam, by what right

(a) ““ Elle entend le Comte de Houdinton [Hondinton].”
 ““ She means the Earl of Hondinton [Huntingdon].” So, in
 another letter (Keralio, v. 375), she speaks of “mon bon
 “voisin le Comte de Hungtingdon.”

““ can

“ can it be maintained, that I, the mother of my
 “ child, am totally prohibited, not only from af-
 “ fisting him in the necessity so urgent in which
 “ he is, but also from having any intelligence of
 “ his state? Who can bring him more careful-
 “ ness, duty, and sincerity, than I? To whom can
 “ he be more near? At the least, if sending to
 “ him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl
 “ of Cherubery [Shrewsbury] made me lately
 “ understand that you did, you had pleased to
 “ take my advice in the matter; you would have
 “ interposed with a better face, as I think, and
 “ with more obligingness to me. But consider
 “ what you leave me to think, when forgetting
 “ so suddenly the offences which you pretended
 “ to have taken against my son, at the time I
 “ was requesting you that we should send toge-
 “ ther to him; you have dispatched one to the
 “ place where he was a prisoner, not only with-
 “ out giving me advice of it, but debarring me
 “ at the very time from all liberty, that by
 “ no way whatever I might have any news of
 “ him.”

“ Que si l'intention de ceux, qui ont moyenné
 “ en vostre endroit ceste si prompte visite de mon
 “ fils, a esté pour sa preservation et le repos du
 “ païs; ils ne doivent estre si soigneux de le me-
 “ celer, comme chose en quoy je n'eusse voulu
 “ concourir avec vous. Ils vous ont, par ce
 “ moyen, fait perdre le gré, que je vous devois
 “ avoir. Et, pour vous en parler plus plain-
 “ ment,

“ ment, je vous prie de n’y employer plus de
 “ tels moyens, n’y de telles personnes. Car,
 “ encores que je tiens le Sieur de Kerri trop se
 “ ressentant du lieu dont il est sorti, pour en-
 “ gager son honneur en aucun vilain acte ; il a
 “ eu un assistant, partisan juré du Comte de
 “ Hondinton, par les mauvais offices duquel une
 “ si mauvaise action n’a peu reussir, qu’à pareil
 “ effect. Il me suffira donc, seulement que vous
 “ ne permettiez, que de ce pays mon fils reçoive
 “ aucun dommage (qui est tout ce, que j’ay
 “ jamais requis de vous cy devant, mesme lors
 “ qu’une armee fut envoyee sur la frontiere,
 “ pour empêcher que la justice ne fust faite de
 “ ce detestable Morton) ; et que nul des vostres
 “ directement ou indirectement ne s’entremesse
 “ d’avantage des affaires d’Ecosse, si ce n’est de
 “ mon sçeu, ”

“ And if the intention of those, who have pro-
 “ cured on your part this so prompt a visit of my
 “ son, had been for his preservation, and the re-
 “ pose of the country ; they needed not to have
 “ been so careful in concealing it from me, as a
 “ matter in which I should not have been willing
 “ to concur with you. By this means they have
 “ lost you the good-will, which I should have had
 “ for you. And, to talk to you more plainly
 “ upon the point, I pray you not to employ there
 “ any more such means or such persons. For,
 “ although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary Lord
 “ Hunsdon] too sensible of the rank from which
 “ he is sprung, to engage his honour in a vil-
 “ lanous

“ treacherous act; he has had for an assistant (a) a
 “ sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon’s,
 “ by whose bad offices an action as bad has
 “ nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall
 “ be contented then, only at your not permit-
 “ ting my son to receive any injury from this
 “ country (b) (which is all, that I have ever
 “ required of you before, even when an army
 “ was sent to the borders, to prevent justice
 “ from being done to that detestable Morton);
 “ and that none of your subjects directly or in-
 “ directly intermeddle any more in the affairs of
 “ Scotland, unless it is with my knowledge,”

“ a qui toute connoissance en appartient, ou avec
 “ assistance de quelqu’un de la part du Roy
 “ Très-Chrestien, mon bon frere; lequel, comme
 “ nostre principal allié, je desire faire participant
 “ de tout en ceste cause, pour peu de credit qu’il
 “ puisse avoir avec les traistres, qui detiennent
 “ mon fils à present.

“ Cependant je vous declare tout ouvertement,
 “ que je tiens ceste derniere conspiration et inno-
 “ vation, pour une pure trahison contre la vie de
 “ mon fils, le bien de ses affaires, et celuy du
 “ pays; et que tant qu’il sera en l’estat que j’en-
 “ tens qu’il est, je n’estimerai parole, escriture,

(a) “ Cestuy-cy est le fils aîné du Milord Holden, parent
 “ d’Elizabeth.” “ This is the eldest son of Lord Holden, a
 “ relation of Elizabeth’s.”

(b) Camden: “ *per necessitudinem igitur inter nos conjunctissi-*
 “ *nam magnopere rogo, uti filii salutis serio prospicias.*”

“ ou autre acte, qui vienne de luy ou se passe
 “ sous son nom, procédé de sa franche et libre
 “ disposition, mais seulement desdits conspira-
 “ teurs, qui, au prix de sa vie, se servent de luy
 “ pour masque.”

“ to whom all cognisance of these things belongs,
 “ or with the assistance of some one on the part
 “ of the Most Christian King, my good brother;
 “ whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make
 “ privy to the whole of this cause, because of the
 “ little credit that he can have with the traitours,
 “ who detain my son at present.

“ In the mean time I declare with all openness
 “ to you, that I hold this last conspiracy and in-
 “ novation, for pure treason against the life of my
 “ son, the good of his affairs, and that of the
 “ country; and that while he shall be in the state
 “ in which I understand he is, I shall esteem no
 “ word, writing, or other act, that comes from
 “ him or is passed under his name, as proceeding
 “ from his free and voluntary disposition, but
 “ only from the said conspiratours, who, at the
 “ price of his life, are making him to serve as a
 “ masque to them.”

“ Or, Madame, avec toute ceste liberté de par-
 “ ler, laquelle je prevoy vous pouvoir en quelque
 “ chose desplaire, ores que ce soit la verité
 “ mesme; vous trouverez, je m'assure, d'avan-
 “ tage estrange, que je vienne maintenant à vous
 “ importuner encore d'une requeste de beaucoup
 “ plus grande importance, et neantmoins tres-
 “ aisée

“ aisée à vous de me l’octroyer et effectuer.
 “ C’est que n’ayant peu jusqu’icy, en m’accomo-
 “ dant patiemment si long temps au rigoureux
 “ traitement de ceste captivité, et me deportant
 “ sincerement en toutes choses, voire jusques aux
 “ moindres qui vous touchoient bien peu, m’ac-
 “ querir quelque assurance de vostre bonne
 “ grace, ne vous en donner aucune de mon en-
 “ tiere affection vers vous; toute esperance m’es-
 “ tant par là ostee, d’avoir mieux en si peu de
 “ temps qui me reste à vivre : je vous supplie en
 “ l’honneur de la douloureuse passion de nostre
 “ Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ, je vous
 “ supplie encore, un coup me permettre de me
 “ retirer hors de ce royaume, en quelque lieu
 “ de repos; pour chercher quelque soulagement
 “ à mon pauvre corps, tant travaillé de conti-
 “ nuelles douleurs; et avec liberté de ma con-
 “ science preparer mon ame a Dieu, qui l’ap-
 “ pelle journellement.”

“ But, Madam, with all this freedom of speech,
 “ which I can foresee will in some sort displease
 “ you, though it be the truth itself; you will find
 “ it more strange, I assure myself, that I come
 “ now to importune you again with a request of
 “ much greater importance, and yet very easy for
 “ you to grant and realise to me. This is, that
 “ having not been able hitherto, by accommo-
 “ dating myself patiently so long a time to the
 “ rigorous treatment of this captivity, and car-
 “ rying myself sincerely in all things, yea even
 “ to the least that could concern you a very little,

“ to gain myself some assurance of your good
 “ grace, or to give you by it some assurance of
 “ my entire affection towards you ; all my hope
 “ being taken away by it, of being better treated
 “ for the very short time which remains to me of
 “ life : I supplicate you by the honour of the
 “ sorrowful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer
 “ Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, at once to
 “ permit me to withdraw myself out of your
 “ realm, into some place of repose ; to search out
 “ some comfort for my poor body, so wearied as
 “ it is with continual sorrows ; and with liberty
 “ of my conscience to prepare my soul for God,
 “ who is calling for it daily (a).”

“ Croyez, Madame, et les medecins, que vous
 “ m’envoyastes cet esté dernier, le peuvent avoir
 “ assez jugé ; que je ne suis pour la faire longue,
 “ de sorte qu’il ne vous peut rester aucun fonde-
 “ ment de jalousie ou deffiance de ma part. Et,
 “ ce neantmoins, prenez de moy telles assurances
 “ et conditions justes et raisonnables, que vous
 “ les voudrez. La force plus grande reste tou-
 “ siours de vostre côté, pour me faire garder ;
 “ ores que pour chose quelconque je ne les vou-
 “ lusse rompre. Vous avez assez eu d’experience
 “ de l’observation de mes simples promesses, et
 “ quelquefois à mon prejudice ; comme je vous
 “ remonstray sur ce mesme sujet, il y a deux
 “ ans. Souvenez vous, s’il vous plaist, de ce que

(a) Camden : “ ut æquis legibus post tot annos libertati resti-
 “ tuta,—post diuturnum carceris squalorem.”

“ je

“ je vous escrîvis lors; et que vous ne sçauriez
 “ tant obliger mon cœur à vous, que par la dou-
 “ ceur, ores que vous confinez à perpetuité mon
 “ pauvre corps languissant entre quatre murailles;
 “ ceux de mon rang et naturel n’estant pour se
 “ laisser gagner, ou forcer, par aucune rigueur.
 “ Vostre prison, sans aucun droit et juste fonde-
 “ ment, a desia destruit mon corps; duquel vous
 “ aurez bientost la fin, s’il y continue guerres d’a-
 “ vantage; et n’auront mes ennemis beaucoup
 “ de temps pour assouvir leurs cruantez sur moy;
 “ il ne me reste que l’ame, laquelle toute vostre
 “ puissance ne peut captiver. Donnez luy
 “ donques lieu de respirer un peu plus librement
 “ son salut; que seul elle cherche aujourd’huy,
 “ plus que nulle grandeur de ce monde. Il me
 “ semble, que ce ne vous sçauroit estre grande
 “ satisfaction, honneur, et avantage, que mes
 “ ennemis foulent ma vie aux pieds, jusques à
 “ m’avoir estouffé devant vous. Au lieu que, si
 “ en ceste extrémité, quoy que bien tard, vous
 “ me relevez d’entre leurs mains, vous m’obli-
 “ gerez grandement à vous, et tous ceux qui
 “ m’appartiennent, spécialement mon pauvre en-
 “ fant; duquel par là vous vous pourrez para-
 “ venture asseurer.”

“ Believe, Madam, and the physicians, whom
 “ you sent me this last summer, are able suffi-
 “ ciently to judge the same; that I am not for a
 “ long continuance, so as to give you any founda-
 “ tion of jealousy or distrust of me. And, not-
 “ withstanding this, take of me such assurances
 “ and

“ and conditions, just and reasonable, as you shall
 “ choose. The greatest power rests always on
 “ your side, to make me keep them ; though for
 “ nothing whatever would I wish to break them.
 “ You have had sufficient experience, of my ob-
 “ servance of my simple promises, and sometimes
 “ to my prejudice ; as I shewed you upon this
 “ very point, about two years ago. Recollect,
 “ if you please, what I then wrote you ; and you
 “ will not know how to bind my heart to you so
 “ much, as by kindness, though you keep for ever
 “ my poor body languishing between four walls ;
 “ those of my rank and nature not leaving them-
 “ selves to be gained or forced, by any rigour.

“ Your prison, without any right and just foun-
 “ dation, has already destroyed my body ; of
 “ which you will shortly have the end, if it con-
 “ tinues there a little longer ; and my enemies
 “ will not have much time, for glutting their
 “ cruelties on me ; nothing remains me but
 “ the soul, *which all your power cannot make cap-*
 “ *tive.* Give it then room for aspiring a little more
 “ freely after its salvation ; which alone it seeks for
 “ at this day, more than any grandeur of this
 “ world. It seems to me, that it cannot be to you
 “ any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage,
 “ for mine enemies to trample my life under foot,
 “ till they have stifled me in your presence.
 “ Whereas, if in this extremity, however late it
 “ be, you release me out of their hands, you will
 “ bind me greatly to you, and bind all those who
 “ belong to me, particularly my poor child ; whom
 “ you will perhaps make sure to yourself by it.”

“ Je

“ Je ne cesseray de vous importuner de ceste
 “ requeste, jusqu'à ce qu'elle me soit accordee.
 “ Et, pour ce, je vous prie me faire entendre vo-
 “ stre intention; ayant, pour vous complaire, at-
 “ tendu jusqu'à present depuis deux ans, pour en
 “ renouveler l'instance; dont l'estat miserable de
 “ ma santé me presse plus, que ne le pourriez pen-
 “ ser. Cependant pourvoyez, s'il vous plaist, à
 “ l'amendement de mon traitement par deça,
 “ que je ne puis souffrir plus longuement; et ne
 “ me remettez à la discretion d'autre quelconque,
 “ que de vous-mesme, de qui seule (comme je
 “ vous escrivois dernièrement) je veux d'oresna-
 “ vant tenir tout le bien et le mal, que je rece-
 “ vray en vostre pays. Faites moy ceste faveur,
 “ que j'aye vostre intention par escrit, ou l'am-
 “ bassadeur de France pour moy. Car de m'ar-
 “ rester à ce que le Comte de Scherufbery, ou au-
 “ tres, en diront ou escriront de vostre part; j'ay
 “ trop d'experience, qu'il n'y peut avoir affeu-
 “ rance pour moy; le moindre sujet, qu'ils se fan-
 “ tasiront (a), estant suffisant pour innover le
 “ tout du jour au lendemain.”

“ I will not cease to importune you with this
 “ request, until it be granted me. And, on this
 “ account, I pray you to let me understand your
 “ intention; having, in order to comply with
 “ you, waited even to the present day for two
 “ years, to renew my urgency for it; for which the
 “ miserable

(a) “ Elle use de ce mot, par ce que le Conte de Scheruf-
 “ bery, son gardien, est homme fort quinteux et fantasque.”

“ She

“ miserable state of my health presses me more,
 “ than you can think. In the mean time provide,
 “ if you please, for the bettering of my treatment
 “ *on this side*, that I may not suffer any longer;
 “ and remit me not to the discretion of any other
 “ whatever, but your own self, from whom alone
 “ (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future
 “ to hold all the good and the evil, which I shall
 “ receive in your country. Do me this favour,
 “ to let me have your intention in writing, or the
 “ embassadour of France for me. For to tie me
 “ up to what the Earl of Scherushbery [Shrews-
 “ bury], or others, shall speak or write about it
 “ on your behalf; I have too much experience, to
 “ be able to put any assurance in it; the least
 “ point which they shall capriciously fancy, be-
 “ ing sufficient to innovate the whole from one
 “ day to another.”

“ Outre ce, dernièrement que j’escrivis à ceux
 “ de vostre conseil, vous me feistes entendre,
 “ que je ne me devois adresser à ceux, mais à
 “ vous seule (et ainsi d’estendre seulement leur
 “ credit et autorité, à me mal faire, il ne seroit
 “ raisonnable; comme il est advenu en ceste der-
 “ niere restriction, où, contre vostre intention,
 “ j’ay esté plus indignement traittee). Cela me

“ She uses this word, because the Earl of Shrewsbury, her
 “ keeper, is a man very capricious and whimsical.”

The *present time* of the verb here, shows this note to have
 been written, when the Earl of Shrewsbury was yet the
 keeper of Mary.

“ donne

“ donne tout occasion de doubter, qu’aucuns de
 “ mes ennemis en vostre-dit conseil n’ayent ex-
 “ pres procuré, que les autres dudit conseil ne
 “ feussent participans de mes justes complainctes;
 “ ne voyans paravanture leurs compagnons ad-
 “ herer à leurs meschans attentats contre ma
 “ vie^(a); ou que s’ils en avoient cognoissance,
 “ ils s’y opposeroient pour vostre honneur, et
 “ leur devoir envers vous.

“ Deux choses en fin ay-je principalement à
 “ requérir: l’une, que proche comme je suis de
 “ partir de ce monde, je puisse avoir pres de
 “ moy, pour ma consolation, quelque honorable
 “ homme d’Eglise; afin de me ramentevoir jour-
 “ nellement le chemin que j’ay à parachever, et
 “ m’instruire à le parfaire selon ma religion, où
 “ je suis fermement resoluë de vivre et mou-
 “ rir.”

“ Besides this, the last time that I wrote to
 “ those of your council, you made me understand,
 “ that I ought not to address myself to them, but
 “ to you alone (and so to extend their credit and
 “ authority only to do me hurt, could not be rea-
 “ sonable; as has happened in this last limitation,
 “ in which, against your intention, I have been
 “ treated with much indignity). This gives me
 “ every occasion for doubting, that some of my
 “ enemies in your said council may have procured

(a) This shows attempts to have been made already upon
 the life of Mary; and (as she thought) by some of Elizabeth’s
 privy counsellors.

“ it with a design, of keeping others of the said
 “ council from being made privy to my just com-
 “ plaints; lest the others should see perhaps *their*
 “ *companions*, adhere to their wicked *attempts*
 “ *upon my life*; of which if they should have any
 “ knowledge, they would oppose them for the
 “ sake of your honour, and of their duty towards
 “ you.

“ Two things I have principally to require at
 “ the close: the one, that, near as I am to going
 “ out of this world, I may have with me, for my
 “ consolation, some honourable churchman; to
 “ remind me daily of the course which I have to
 “ finish, and teach me how to compleat it accord-
 “ ing to my religion, in which I am firmly re-
 “ solved to live and to die.”

“ C'est un dernier devoir, qu'au plus chetif et mi-
 “ serable qui vive ne se pourroit denier. C'est
 “ une liberté, que vous donnez à tous les ambaf-
 “ sadeurs estrangers; comme aussi tous autres
 “ Roys Catholiques donnent aux vôtres, exercice
 “ de leur religion. Et moy-mesme je n'ay ja-
 “ mais forcé mes propres sujets, à aucune chose
 “ contraire à leur religion; ores que j'eusse tout
 “ pouvoir et autorité sur eux. Et que je feusse
 “ en ceste extremité privée de telle licence, vous
 “ ne le pouvez justement faire. Quel avantage
 “ vous reviendra-il, quand vous me le denierez?
 “ J'espere que Dieu m'excusera, si, par vous de
 “ ceste façon oppressée, je ne laisse de luy rendre
 “ le devoir, qu'en mon cœur me fera permis.
 “ Mais

“ Mais vous donnerez tres-mauvais exemple aux
 “ autres princes de la Chrestienté, d’user vers
 “ leurs subjets de la mesme rigueur que vous
 “ me tiendrez, Royne Souveraine et vostre plus
 “ proche parente; comme je suis et feray tant
 “ que je vivray, en despit de mes ennemis (a).”

“ This is a last duty, which cannot be denied to
 “ the most mean and miserable person that lives.
 “ It is a liberty, which you grant to all the
 “ foreign embassadours; as also all other Ca-
 “ tholick Kings give to your embassadours, the
 “ exercise of their religion. And even I my-
 “ self have not hitherto forced my own subjects,
 “ to any thing contrary to their religion; though
 “ I had all power and authority over them.
 “ And that I in this extremity should be de-
 “ prived of such freedom, you cannot with jus-
 “ tice require. What advantage will redound
 “ to you, when you shall deny it to me? I hope
 “ that God will excuse me, if, oppressed by you
 “ in this manner, I do not render to him any
 “ duty, but what I shall be permitted to do in
 “ my heart. But you will set a very bad exam-
 “ ple to the other princes of Christendom, to
 “ act towards their subjects with the same rigour,
 “ that you shall show to me, a Sovereign Queen
 “ and your nearest relation; which *I am and*

(a) This is exactly in the same tone of magnanimity, in
 which she wrote to her commissioners at London, against re-
 signing her crown (i. 3, 2, before). Camden: “*apud Deum*
 “*me excusatam iri spero, et adversarios non impune laturos*
 “*timeo.*”

“ will

“ *will be as long as I live, in despite of mine*
 “ *enemies.*”

“ Je ne vous veux importuner maintenant, de
 “ l'augmentation de ma maison ; dont, pour le
 “ temps que je voy me rester à vivre au monde,
 “ je n'auray pas tant de besoin. Je vous de-
 “ mande doncques seulement deux femmes de
 “ chambre, pour me subvenir durant ma mala-
 “ die ; vous attestant devant Dieu, qu'elles me
 “ sont tres-necessaires, quand je serois une pau-
 “ vre creature d'entre le simple peuple (a).
 “ Accordez les moy, en l'honneur de Dieu ; et
 “ monstrez en cela, que mes ennemis n'ont tant
 “ de credit envers vous contre moy, que d'ex-
 “ ercer leur vengeance et cruauté en chose de si
 “ peu de consequence, et dependant d'un simple
 “ office d'humanité (b).

“ Je viendray maintenant à ce, dont le Comte
 “ de Scherufbery m'a chargée, si un tel que luy
 “ me peut charger ; c'est à sçavoir : que contre
 “ ma promesse faite à Beale, et à vostre desceu,
 “ j'ay négocié avec mon fils, pour luy ceder mon
 “ tiltre de la couronne d'Escoffe ; m'estant obligée
 “ de n'y proceder qu'avec vostre advis, par un
 “ de mes serviteurs, qui en leur commun voyage

(a) So Mary's attendants are said by Paulet, to be “filly
 “ and simple souls” (Robertson, ii. 474).

(b) How low must Mary have been reduced by the oppres-
 sive hand of Elizabeth, when she was forced to supplicate for
 such a petty favour as this, in so earnest a manner !

“ seroit

“ seroit dirigé par l'un des vôtres. Ces sont,
 “ me semble, les mêmes termes dudit Comte.”

“ I would not now importune you, concerning
 “ the augmentation of my household; of which
 “ for the time that I see remaining me to live in
 “ this world, I will not have so much care. I
 “ require then from you, only two women of the
 “ chamber, to assist me during my sickness; at-
 “ tending to you before God, that they are very
 “ necessary to me, now I shall be a poor creature
 “ among this simple people. Grant these to me,
 “ for the honour of God; and show in this in-
 “ stance, that mine enemies have not so much
 “ credit with you against me, as to exercise their
 “ vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little
 “ consequence, and depending upon a simple
 “ office of humanity.

“ I will come now to that, with which the Earl
 “ of Scherufbery [Shrewsbury] has charged me,
 “ if such a one as he can charge me; which is
 “ this: that contrary to my promise made to
 “ Beale, and without your knowledge, I have
 “ been negotiating with my son, to yield to him
 “ my title to the crown of Scotland; when I
 “ had obliged myself not to proceed in it but
 “ with your advice, by one of my servants, who
 “ should be directed by one of yours in their
 “ common journey thither. These are, I think,
 “ the very words of the said Count.”

“ Je vous diray la dessus, Madame, que Beale n'a
 “ jamais eu aucune simple et absoluë promesse de

“ moy ; mais bien des ouvertures conditionnelles,
 “ auxquelles je me pouvois en façon que ce soit
 “ rester liée, sans qu’au préalable les conditions,
 “ que j’y avois apposees, fussent executees ; aus-
 “ quelles tant s’en faut qu’il ait esté satisfait,
 “ qu’au contraire je n’en ay jamais en aucune res-
 “ ponce, ny de sa part ouy faire mention depuis.
 “ Et pour ce respect il me souvient tres-bien, que
 “ le Comte de Scherufbery, vers Pasques der-
 “ nieres, voulant tirer de moy nouvelle confirma-
 “ tion de ce que j’avois dit audit Beale ; je luy
 “ repliquay tout pleinement, que c’estoit seule-
 “ ment au cas que lescdites conditions me fussent
 “ accordees, et consequemment effectuees. L’un
 “ et l’autre sont encores vivants pour le vous
 “ tesmoigner, s’ils en veulent dire la verité.
 “ Depuis voyant que aucune responce ne m’é-
 “ toit faite ; mais, au contraire, que par delays
 “ et remises mes ennemis continuoient plus li-
 “ centieusement que jamais leurs pratiques, bas-
 “ ties dès le séjour dudit Beale pres de moy,
 “ pour traverser mes justes intentions en Escosse,
 “ ainsi que les effects l’ont bien tesmoigné ; et
 “ que, par ce moyen, la porte demeuroit ou-
 “ verte à la ruine de mon fils et la mienne ; jo
 “ pris vostre silence pour refus, et me deschargeay
 “ par lettres expressees, tant à vous qu’à vostre
 “ conseil, de tout ce que j’avois traité avec ledit
 “ Beale (a).”

“ I will

(a) This serves to show, how treacherously Elizabeth acted
 with Mary, turning conditional agreements into positive for
 her

“ I will tell you upon this, Madam, that Beale
 “ has not ever had a simple and absolute promise
 “ of me; but indeed overtures conditional, to
 “ which I cannot remain bound in the fashion in
 “ which the business is, unless the conditions,
 “ which I annexed to it, might be previously ex-
 “ ecuted; about which so far is he from being
 “ satisfied, that on the contrary I have never had
 “ any answer from him, or heard mention of it
 “ since on his side. And on this account I re-
 “ member very well, that the Earl of Scheruf-
 “ bery [Shrewsbury], about last Easter, wanting
 “ to draw from me a new confirmation of what
 “ I had spoken to the said Beale; I replied to
 “ him very fully, That it was only in case the
 “ said conditions might be granted, and conse-
 “ quently effectuated, to me. The one and the
 “ other are yet living to testify this to you, if
 “ they will tell the truth about it. Then seeing
 “ that no answer was made me; but, on the con-
 “ trary, that by delays and neglects mine enemies
 “ continued more licentiously than ever their
 “ practices, formed since the residence of the
 “ said Beale with me, in order to traverse my just
 “ intentions in Scotland, so as the effects have
 “ been well witnessed there; and that, by this
 “ means, the door remained open to the ruin of
 “ my son and of myself; I took your silence for
 “ a refusal, and discharged myself by express

her own advantage; and how openly and honourably Mary
 acted in return, revoking even conditional agreements by ex-
 press letters.

“ letters, as well to you as to your council, from
 “ all that I had treated upon with the said
 “ Beale.”

“ Je vous feis bien participante de ce, quel le
 “ Roy Monsieur, et la Royne Madame, m’avoy-
 “ ent escrit de leurs mains propres sur cet affaire;
 “ et en requis vostre advis, qui est encores à ve-
 “ nir, avec lequel mon intention à la verité estoit
 “ de proceder, si vous me l’eussiez en temps de-
 “ parti, et vous m’eussiez permis d’envoyer vers
 “ mon fils; m’assitant és ouvertures que je vous
 “ avois proposees, pour establir entre ces deux
 “ royaumes une bonne amitié et parfaite intelli-
 “ gence à l’advenir. Mais de m’obliger nuëment
 “ à suivre vostre advis, devant que sçavoir quel il
 “ pourroit estre, et de soumettre, pour le voyage
 “ de nos gens, le mien à la direction du vostre,
 “ mesmement en mon païs propre (*a*); je ne fus
 “ jamais si simple, que de le penser.

“ Maintenant je remets en vostre consideration,
 “ si vous avez sçeu le faulx jeu, que mes ennemis
 “ par dèça m’ont joué en Escosse (*b*), pour ame-
 “ ner les choses au poinct qu’elles sont (*c*); lequel

(*a*) What an un-reasonable tyrant does Elizabeth here ap-
 pear; a tyrant beyond all check and controul, of even com-
 mon decency towards her sister Queen!

(*b*) Mary here and before appears, to have seen perfectly
 into Elizabeth’s concern, in the seizure of her son by the
 Ruthvens. For that concern, consult Camden, *Trans.* 275,
Orig. i. 331, &c.

(*c*) “ Elle entend l’emprisonnement du Roy son fils, fait à
 “ Reuen.”

“ She means the imprisonment of the King her son, done by
 “ Reuen,” Ruthven Lord Gowry.

“ de

“ de nous y a le plus sincerement procedé. Dieu
 “ soit juge entre eux et moy, et destourne de ceste
 “ isle la juste punition de leurs demerites.”

“ I made you fully privy to what Monsieur the
 “ King, and Madame the Queen, had written to
 “ me with their own hands upon this business;
 “ and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet
 “ to come, with which it was in truth my inten-
 “ tion to proceed, if you had given it me in time,
 “ and you had permitted me to send to my son;
 “ assisting me in the overtures which I had pro-
 “ posed to you, in order to establish between the
 “ two realms a good amity and perfect intelli-
 “ gence for the future. But to bind myself na-
 “ kedly to follow your advice, before I knew
 “ what it would be, and, for the journey of our
 “ servants, to put mine under the direction of
 “ yours, even in my own country; I was never
 “ yet so simple as to think of it.

“ Now I refer to your consideration, if you
 “ knew of the false game, which mine enemies
 “ *on this side* have played me in Scotland, to
 “ reduce things to the point at which they stand;
 “ which of us has proceeded with the greatest
 “ sincerity. God judge between them and me,
 “ and avert from this isle the just punishment of
 “ their demerits.”

“ Renvoyez encor un coup les advertiffemens,
 “ que mes traistres subjects de l'Escoffe vous peu-
 “ vent avoir donnez. Vous trouverez, et je le
 “ maintiendray devant tous les princes Chrestiens,
 “ qu'il

“ qu’il ne s’y est passé de ma part chose quelcon-
 “ que à vostre prejudice, ne contre le bien et re-
 “ pos de ce royaume ; lequel je n’affecte moins
 “ que conseiller ou subyet que vous ayez, y ayant
 “ plus d’interest qu’aucun d’eux.

“ Il se parloit, de gratifier mon fils du tiltre et
 “ nom de Roy ; et d’asseurer, tant luy audit tiltre,
 “ que les rebelles de toute impunité de leurs of-
 “ fences du passé ; et de remettre toutes choses
 “ en un repos et tranquillité pour l’advenir, sans
 “ aucune innovation de chose quelconque.
 “ Estoit-ce oster la couronne à mon fils ? Mes
 “ ennemis, comme je croy, ne voudroient pas
 “ qu’elle luy fust asseuree ; et pour ce sont tres-
 “ contens, qu’il la detienne par l’illegitime vio-
 “ lence d’aucuns traistres, ennemis de toute an-
 “ cienneté de toute nostre race (a). Estoit-ce
 “ la chercher justice des offenses passees desdits
 “ traistres, que ma clemence a tousiours sur-
 “ passez ?”

“ Send back again at once the intelligence; which
 “ my traitourous subjects of Scotland can have
 “ given you. You will find, and I will maintain it
 “ before all the Christian princes, that no one thing
 “ whatever has there passed on my side, to your
 “ prejudice, or against the good and repose of this
 “ realm ; which I affect not less than any coun-

(a) The Ruthvens &c. William Earl of Gowry, “ not to
 “ degenerate from his father, who bare a deadly hatred
 “ against the King’s mother,” seized the King (Camden,
 Transl. 274, Orig. i. 331). Camden renders “ il se parloit”
 by “ ex animo percipui,”

“ sellor

“ fellow or subject that you have, having more in-
“ terest in it than any of them.

“ There was a negotiation, for gratifying my
“ son with the title and name of King; and for
“ making sure, as well the said title to him, as all
“ impunity to the rebels for their offences past;
“ and for re-placing every thing in repose and
“ tranquillity for the future, without any innova-
“ tion of any thing whatever. Was this to take
“ away the crown from my son? Mine enemies,
“ as I believe, wished not at all that the crown
“ should be made sure to him; and on that ac-
“ count are very content, that he should keep it
“ by the unlawful violence of some traitours, ene-
“ mies from all antiquity to all our family. Was
“ this then to seek for justice upon the past offen-
“ ces of the said traitours, which my clemency
“ has always surpassed?”

“ Mais mauvaise conscience ne peut jamais s’af-
“ seurer, portant continuellement la crainte en son
“ plus grand trouble avec elle-mesme. Estoit-ce
“ vouloir alterer le repos du pays; que de le pro-
“ curer par une douce abolition de toutes choses
“ passees, et generale reconciliation entre tous
“ nos subjets? C’est ce que nos ennemis par deça
“ craignent, autant qu’ils font demonstration de
“ la desirer. Quel prejudice en cela vous estoit-
“ il fait? Marquez doncques, et faites verifier,
“ s’il vous plaist, en quelle autre chose: j’en re-
“ spondray sur mon honneur.

“ Hel

“ He! voulez-vous, Madame, vous laisser tant
 “ aveugler aux artifices de mes ennemis, que
 “ pour establir apres vous, et paraventure contre
 “ vous mesmes, leurs injustes pretentions à ceste
 “ couronne; vous les souffriez, vous vivante, et
 “ les voyez ruiner et faire si cruellement perir
 “ ceux, qui vous touchent de si pres, et de cœur
 “ et de sang? Quel bien et honneur pouvez-vous
 “ esperer, de souffrir qu’ils nous tiennent, mon
 “ fils et moy si longuement separez, et luy et moy
 “ d’avec vous?”

“ But an evil conscience cannot ever be assured,
 “ carrying continually its fear in its very great
 “ trouble within itself. Was it to wish a change
 “ in the repose of the country; to procure it by a
 “ mild pardon of every thing past, and a general
 “ reconciliation between all our subjects? This
 “ is the point which our enemies *on this side* fear,
 “ as much shew as they make of desiring it. What
 “ prejudice would be done to you by this? Mark
 “ then, and verify, if you please, by what other
 “ point: I will answer to it upon mine ho-
 “ nour.

“ Ah! Will you, Madam, let yourself be so
 “ blind to the artifices of mine enemies, as to
 “ establish after you, and perhaps against yourself,
 “ their unjust pretensions to this crown; will you
 “ suffer them in your lifetime, and look at them,
 “ while they are ruining and so cruelly destroying
 “ those, who concern you so near both in heart
 “ and in blood? What advantage and honour
 “ can you hope for, in suffering them to keep

us, my son and me so long separated, and him
and me from you ?”

“ Reprenez les anciennes arrhes de vostre bon
naturel; obligez les vostres à vous-mêmes;
donnez moy ce contentement avant que mourir, que voyant toutes choses bien remises entre
nous, mon ame, delivree de ce corps, ne soit
contrainte d’espandre ses gémissements devant
Dieu, pour le tort que vous aurez souffert nous
estre fait icy bas; mais plustost, qu’estant bien
unie avec vous, elle quitte ceste captivité, pour
s’acheminer vers luy, que je prie vous bien in-
spirer sur mes très-justes et plus que raisonnables
plaintes et doléances.

“ A Sheffeld ce 28. Novembre mil cinq cens
octante deux.

“ Vostre très desolée plus proche parente
et affectionnée cousine

“ MARIE R.”

“ Resume the ancient pledges of your good-
nature; bind your relations to yourself; give
me the satisfaction before I die, that seeing all
matters happily settled again between us, my
soul, when delivered from this body, may not
be constrained to display its lamentations before
God, for the wrong which you will have suffered
to be done me here below; but rather, that be-
ing happily united to you, it may quit this cap-
tivity, to set forward towards him, whom I pray
to inspire you happily upon my very just and
G g more

“ more than reasonable complaints and grie-
 vances.

“ At Sheffield this 28. of November one thou-
 sand five hundred eighty-two.

“ Your very disconsolate nearest relation
 “ and affectionate cousin

“ MARIE R. (a) ”

(a) Jebb, ii. 266—275. Camden: “te” for tuos “tibi ob-
 liga; *princepsque cum sis, animum ad deponendam omnem offen-
 sionem erga me, principem conjunctissimam et tui amantissimam,
 placabilitate emollias;*” and “*assiduas preces,*” and “*tandem
 aliquando inveniant,*” and “*die viii Novemb.,*” and “*af-
 fectionee fure.*”

This forcible and pathetick letter is rendered obscure in places, by that which is incident to all letters, the quick glancing of the mind to and from circumstances, familiar to the writer and the receiver, and therefore noticed in a cursory manner only. But it has been considered as so pathetick and so forcible, that Blackwood inserted it entire in his MS. history of Mary's sufferings, as appears from a note above, even while the Earl of Shrewsbury was yet the keeper of Mary, and before 1585; and actually published it in his history, so early as 1587. Camden also formed an abridgment of it, and placed it in his annals (Orig. i. 332—337, and Transf. 276—280). Dr. Stuart, too, has equally interrupted the course of his narrative with it; after he had spoken of it in these terms. “When the intelligence of the captivity of her son,” he says, “and of the bold proceedings of the conspirators, reached Mary; her care, agitation, and anguish were driven to the most affecting extremity. And, giving vent to her sensibility, she addressed a letter to Elizabeth, in which she maintains her dignity, while she yields to her resentments; and in which she has intermingled, in an admirable manner, the most fervent protestations of innocence, and the boldest language of ex- postulation and reproach. Its ability and vigour are uncommon, and give it a title to survive in the history of the Scot-
 “ tish

"tish nation" (ii. 164). And Mademoiselle De Keralio has published it a fourth time, in her Appendix, v. 349—356. But Camden's abridgment, which I admired much before I discovered the original, has lost many of the beauties in the latter, and has ventured to make some additions of its own. These I have noticed above. Dr. Stuart also has formed his copy of the letter, by abridging the abridgment of Camden, by copying his additions as parts of the original, and by licentiously paraphrasing all. And Mademoiselle De Keralio, not attending to this conduct, and not knowing of the French original, has turned Dr. Stuart's letter into French, and given it to her readers for the true original. In this manner is history unintentionally falsified; and thus has the French letter been translated back into French again! I therefore thought it requisite, to act in a very different manner. I have given the original itself. I have added to it a translation. I thus take leave of my reader, even in my Appendix, with a genuine letter of Mary's; which recapitulates the conduct of Elizabeth to her in all its principal outlines; which shows Elizabeth to us, as we have seen her before, but with an addition of evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage; and also shows the soul of Mary to us, at the seeming approaches of death, recollected in its sentiments, earnest in its feelings, maintaining her innocence with awful solemnity, and appealing to that God, before whom she thought she was going to appear, for the vindication of her honour and the avenging of her wrongs. From the interesting nature of distress, the elevating force of innocence, and the ennobling dignity of religion; the sick and dying Mary here appears with a majesty, before which the low-souled Elizabeth shrinks abashed and confounded. Every honest and generous feeling of our hearts, comes forward to the aid of the oppressed Queen. And we think of her oppressor, with disgust, with disdain, and with detestation!

A D D I T I O N S.

Vol. II. p. 66.

HAVING here noticed from Mademoiselle de Keralio, that the present Rector of the Scotch College at Paris, Abbé Gordon, “promises the “publick a new history of Mary,” from the papers reprinted in his college; and having presumed to advise the Abbé, “to throw his new “lights into the form of an historical disquisition,” rather “than of a history itself;” I think it requisite to myself and to the publick, to correct the supposition on which the advice was founded, and into which I was led by that very respectable lady of France. I have since had the honour of corresponding with the Abbé. From his letters I find, that his intended work is *not* to dwell at all upon the *controverted* parts of Mary’s history. “All the papers we have relating to “Mary,” he says in one of his letters to me, “are mostly *posterior* to her confinement, and treat “of the means of *restoring* her to her power, in “whole or in part. Such papers, as *precede* her “imprisonment in England, do her honour as a “woman and a princess; but throw no *new* light “on the matter so much debated, whether she “was innocent or guilty of her husband’s murder, I think, you have in the strictest sense “de-

“demonstrated her innocence; and I rejoice to
 “see it demonstrated by an Englishman and a
 “Protestant Clergyman.”

— P. 138, l. 28, *thus*.

Which she considered as the same with a solemn appeal to God. Elizabeth's mode of swearing was very different. She was so much in the habit of audacious profaneness, that she had what was considered as her “wonted oath.” And she was very frequently swearing, by GOD'S DEATH (Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, Phenix, i. 184).

— P. 144, to the end of the paragraph let this Note be subjoined.

* Sir Robert Naunton says accordingly of Elizabeth, that “she was of a personage tall, “of hair and complexion fair, and therewith “well-favoured” (Phenix, i. 183).

— P. 155, to Note * add *thus*.

Leicester, says Sir Robert Naunton, “was “a very goodly *person*, and singular well-featured, “and all his youth well-favoured, and of a sweet “aspect;”—for she, the Queen, with some exceptions “*always took personage* in the way of “her election” (192—193).

— P. 158, to Note add *thus*.

“Hatton came into court,—Sir John Perrot was “wont to say, by the galliard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the inns of court, “in a mask; and for his *activity* and *person*, which

“ was tall and proportionable, *taken into her favour*” (Naunton, 205).

Sir Robert also, who in general knows only as much of the interiour characters of the Queen and her courtiers, as a gentleman-usher or a page of the backstairs usually does; confirms the hint here given, of Elizabeth’s niggardliness to all but her gallants, &c. “ We have not,” says he, “ many precedents of her liberality, or of any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of Essex book of parkes only excepted, which was a princely gift, and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of LEICESTER, HATTON, and others” (p. 185).

— P. 160, *to Note † add this.*

† Ibid. 501. “ Sir W. Rawleigh—had, in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person” (Naunton, 209).

— P. 161, l. 12—13, *should run thus.*

Her principles of dishonour.

As to Blount, we have a very particular account of him and of Elizabeth, from the hands of Sir Robert Naunton. In his pleasing gallery of historical pictures, he has hung up the Queen with her paramours on each side of her, without any seeming intention of marking them as her paramours, and yet really doing so. Blount, he says, “ had a pretty strange kind of admission into court; which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about
“ twenty

"twenty years of age;" a particular, that coincides exactly with Morgan's intimation before, concerning his extreme youthfulness, when Elizabeth fixed her kind regards upon him. He was "of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composition, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner; whither he came to see the fashion of the court. The Queen *bad soon found him out*; and, with a kind of *affected* frown, asked the Lady Carver what he was. She answered, she knew him not. Infomuch as *an inquiry was made from one to another*, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not), stirred the blood of this young gentleman; infomuch as his colour came and went: which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss; encouraging him with gracious words and new looks. And, so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, That she *no sooner observed him*, but that *she knew there was in him some noble blood*; with some other expressions of pity towards his house. And then, *again demanding his name*, she said, Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good." This presents us with a significant picture of Elizabeth's mind. The bold eye of the discontented Old Maid, was continually wandering through her

7

court,

court, in quest of new lovers. Her taste however was good. She always pitched upon the handsome. And her eye generally rested upon the blooming cheek of youth. She was thus struck immediately, with the "brown hair," the "sweet face," the "most neat composure," and the "tall person," of this young man of twenty. She singled him out from the croud of casual spectators. Her old blood began to tingle, at the sight of him. She put on "an affected frown," to disguise her sudden love. Yet her spirits were in such a strong alarm of curiosity, that those could not subside till this was gratified. An enquiry was hastily circulated round the room, after the name and family of the stranger at the door, who had made such an impression upon the too yielding heart of the Queen. Her licentious eye, still "feeding on his damask cheek," all the while pointed out the object. She *knew* by the instinctive flutters of her heart, that there was noble blood in his veins. He was therefore not unworthy to be admitted to her favours. She called the blushing and astonished youth up to her. He came, all unconscious of his powers, and wrapped up perhaps in his virgin innocence. She changed her "affected frown" into a heart-felt smile. She gave him her hand to kiss. She expressed a compassion for the distressed condition of his house. She again enquired after his name. She bad him not to fail in future attendance at court. And she promised to prefer him.

"This," says Sir Robert, "was his inlet, and
"the beginnings of his grace." In such a manner

ner was this innocent fly drawn into the snares of that ever-watchful spider. But he soon ceased to be innocent. She knighted him. And he did her *knight's service*. "My Lord Mountjoy," as Sir Robert incidentally informs us under a different character, "who was another *child of her* *favour*, being *newly come to court*, and then but *Sir Charles Blunt*,—had the good fortune one day to run very well a tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him, in token of her favour, a *Queen* at chesse, of gold richly enameled: which his servants had the next day fastened on his arm, with a crimson ribband; which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying, with his cloke-cast under his arm, the better to command it to the view; inquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed. Sir Fulk Greville told him, that it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him. Whereat my Lord of Essex," as being another favourite of hers in the same way, and at the same time, "in a kind of *emulation*, and as though he would have *limited her favour*, said, "Now I perceive every fool must have a favour." Thus was the knighted youth parading about, and glorying in the disgraceful favours of his lewd mistress; a devoted victim; shaking his garlands, and dressed out for the altar. He heard however of the scoff; and had the presumption in his new interest with Elizabeth, to challenge her prior gallant. "They met near Maribone-Park."

Essex

“ foris, *fall nevir impute as cryme or offence to onie*
 “ *of the personis subscriyveris thair of*, thaire consent
 “ and subscripsioun to the matter above writtin,
 “ *thairin contenit*; nor that thai, nor thair heires,
 “ fall nevir be callit nor accusit thairfoir; nor zit
 “ fall the said consent or subscriyving be onie de-
 “ rogatioun or spott to thair honor, or thai
 “ esteemit undewtifull subjectis for doing thair of,
 “ notwithstanding quhatsumevir thing can tend or
 “ be allegeit in the contrare. In witnes quhair of
 “ her Majestie hes subscriyveit the samyne with her
 “ awin hand.” * So providently casid in ar-
 mour on both sides, as these rebel peers peculiarly
 are, that come forward with such peculiar zeal to
 shew all their securities; who can now hurt
 them? Covered with a panoply, as immortal as
 its makers, and *forged* by Vulcanian art in the
 caverns of darkness; they fancy themselves safe
 from every wound. But they are not. Indeed

Their armour helps their harm, crush'd in and bruis'd
 Into their substance pent.

The second warrant appears to be genuine,
 from an allusion to it in the true contract †. But
 the solicitation of a second proves the first to be a
 falsity. When they had already been *licensed* to
 do what they did, what possible need, or what
 possible use, could there be of more? How could
 even the sceptre of royalty extend its creative
 touch, to any thing farther for them? If the
 licence was not of sufficient validity in itself, why
 did they send to obtain it? If it was, why should
 they solicit for the warrant afterwards? The warrant

* Anderson, i. 111.

† iii. 165. before.
forsooth

forsooth was to forgive, what the licence had sanctioned. The sign manual of the Queen was to remit the offence, which this very sign manual had authorized. *That* was even to *pardon*, what *this* had *compelled*; as they actually produced *that*, to *show* they were *compelled* to sign; “in *proufe* they did “it *not willinglie*.” The Queen thus promises, “on the word of a Princeesse,” not to punish as a crime against her, what she had even lent a written authority for doing; and not to consider as “onie derogatioun or spott—to their honour,” what they had been actually *compelled* by her *under a royal warrant to do*. And she now “*gave her consent*,” as the rebels themselves say, to what she had *licensed*, to what she had *compelled*, before.

—P. 375, l. 33, *thus* :

Orig. i. 413, Transf. 346. But let me subjoin one extraordinary evidence more concerning him. “Time and emulation,” says Sir Robert Naunton, “had resolved on his period; and, to cover “him at the setting in a cloud at Cornbury, not “by so violent a death, and by the fatal sentence “of judicature, as that of his father’s and grand-father’s was; but, as is suggested, by that *poison* which *he had prepared for others*; wherein “they report him *a rare artist*” (Phenix, i. 193). Such an infernal, &c.

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